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NARRATIVES OF THE VOYAGES

OF

PEDRO SARMIENTO DE GAMBÓA

TO

THE STRAITS OF MAGELLAN.

No. XCI.

"Aquel que alli se ofrece es el Sarmiento
Nuevo Teseo del austral undoso
Laberinto del liquido elemento
Minotauro de espumas proceloso:
Al Drake ira ce impedir el fiero intento
Y demarcado el bosforo sinuoso
Domando el golfo con triunfante entera
Su capitolio harà la Hesperia arena."

Lima Fundada, Canto VII.

NARRATIVES OF THE VOYAGES

OF

PEDRO SARMIENTO DE GAMBÓA

TO THE

STRAITS OF MAGELLAN.

Translated and Edited, with Notes and an Introduction,

BY

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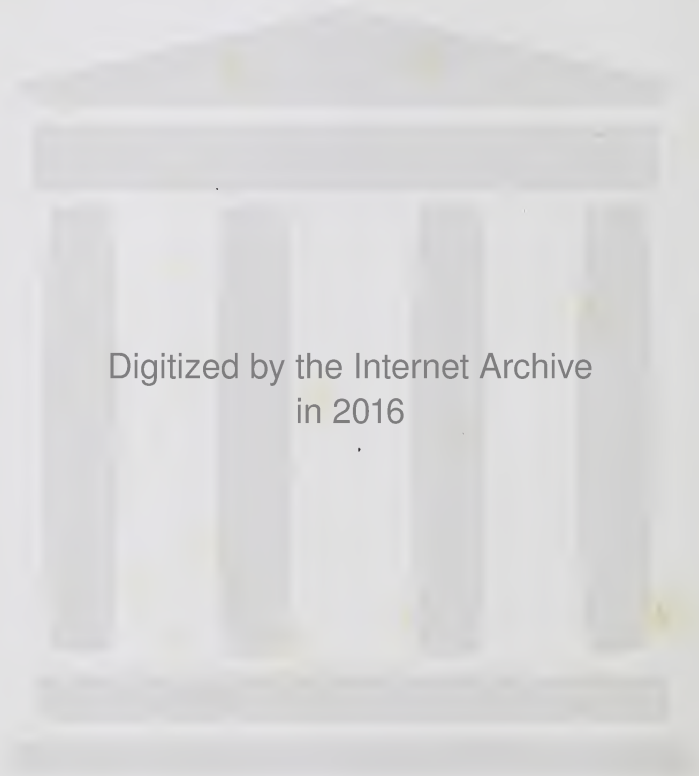

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CONTENTS.

PAGE

INTRODUCTION ix

I.

NARRATIVE AND ROUTE OF THE VOYAGE AND DISCOVERY OF THE STRAIT OF THE MOTHER OF GOD, FORMERLY CALLED "OF MAGELLAN" 3

1. Causes for sending the Expedition—Appointment of Pedro Sarmiento—Fitting out of the Ships—Instructions of the Viceroy—Orders of Sarmiento—List of Officers 3
2. The Voyage from Callao to the Gulf of Trinidad . 24
3. Arrival in the Gulf of Trinidad 37
4. Narrative of the first Expedition of Discovery made by the General, with the Pilots Anton Pablos and Hernando Lamero, in the boat *Nuestra Señora de Guia*, up the Gulf of the Most Holy Trinity. . 46
5. Second Voyage of Discovery, in the boat *Santiago* . 61
6. Third Voyage of Discovery, in the boat *Nuestra Señora de Guia* 73
7. Voyage to the Strait of Magellan—Desertion of the *Almiranta* 91
8. In the Strait of Magellan 107
9. The Voyage to Spain 156
10. Letter from the Viceroy of Peru, Don Francisco de Toledo, to the Governor of Rio de la Plata . . 206

II.

RELATION OF WHAT HAPPENED TO THE ROYAL FLEET FOR THE STRAIT OF MAGELLAN. Written at Rio de Janeiro on June 1st, 1583, by Pedro Sarmiento de Gambóa . 209

III.

REPORT TOUCHING THE CAPTAINS AND SHIPS, MASTERS AND PILOTS, that his Majesty appointed for the Fleet sent for the enterprise of the Strait of the Mother of God, previously called of Magellan, and a List of the Settlers in the Strait 219

IV.

CONCISE NARRATIVE BY PEDRO SARMIENTO DE GAMBÓA, Governor and Captain-General of the Strait of the Mother of God, formerly called the Strait of Magellan, and of the Settlements made, and which may be made, for his Majesty 226

1. Fitting Out—Conduct of Diego Flores—Opening Disaster—Voyage to Rio de Janeiro—Wintering—Disgraceful conduct of Diego Flores and the captains 226
2. Incapacity and Villainy of Diego Flores.—Two abortive Voyages 250
3. Desertion of Diego Flores . . . 281
4. The Settlement in the Straits . . . 296
5. Captivity of Sarmiento 333

V.

DECLARATION which, by Order of the Viceroy of Peru, Don Francisco de Borja, Prince of Esquilache, Tomé Hernandez, made before a Notary respecting what happened in the Settlements founded in the Strait of Magellan by Pedro Sarmiento de Gambóa 352

INDEX 376

INTRODUCTION.

PEDRO SARMIENTO DE GAMBÓA was one of the most eminent Spanish scientific navigators of the sixteenth century. His admirable work up the Gulf of Trinidad and in the Straits of Magellan is well known to English naval surveyors; but his reports have never been translated. The present volume contains translations of his narrative which was published at the end of the last century, and of his important reports which first saw the light in 1866.[1] Some account of the surveys of Sarmiento and of his unfortunate attempt to establish a colony in the Straits of Magellan is given in *Burney's Voyages*.[2] But the Admiral's authorities were confined to the published narratives, to Argensola, and to the story of Lopez Vaz in Hakluyt. He was

[1] In the *Coleccion de Documentos Ineditos*, tom. v. Madrid, 1866.

[2] Vol. ii, 1806.

unacquainted with the reports of Sarmiento himself, which have recently been brought to light.

To discover the birth and parentage of the great navigator it has been necessary to have recourse to an ominous authority, namely, a deposition preserved in the Records of the Inquisition.[1] From this document it appears that his father was Bartolomè Sarmiento, a native of Pontevedra in Galicia, who married a Biscayan lady of Bilbaò, named Gamboa. Pedro himself was born at Alcala de Henares in about 1532, but he was brought up in his father's home at Pontevedra, a place near the sea on the western coast of Galicia. The country round Pontevedra is watered by many streams, is well wooded, and enjoys an equable climate. The small port of Bayona is within a few miles of the town, and here it was that Alonzo Martin Pinzon found refuge when returning as second in command, in the first voyage of Columbus. Having passed his boyhood in the pleasant environs of Pontevedra, Pedro Sarmiento entered the military service of Spain at the early age of eighteen. He served in the wars of Europe from 1550 to 1555, and then crossed the ocean to the Indies, to seek his fortune. He appears to have been two years in Mexico and Guatemala, whence he proceeded to Peru in 1557.

During seven years he devoted himself to a study of the history of the Incas, and he probably made

[1] *Historia del Tribunal del Santo Officio de la Inquisicion en Chile*, por Don José Toribio Medina (2 tom., Santiago, 1890, 8vo), I, cap. xiii, p. 310.

several voyages along the coast. When he arrived, the Marquis of Cañete was Viceroy of Peru, who induced the Inca Sayri Tupac to come to terms and reside in the valley of Yucay under Spanish jurisdiction. But when Sayri Tupac died in 1560, his brothers again became independent in the fastnesses of Vilcabamba. The Marquis himself died in 1561, and from 1561 to 1564 the Conde de Nieva was Viceroy. Sarmiento appears to have been on intimate terms with the new Viceroy and his household, and probably held some office in the viceregal court. This came to an end after the mysterious murder of the Conde de Nieva in a street of Lima, on February 20th, 1564; and the persecutions of the Inquisition appeared to have commenced with the arrival of the new Governor of Peru, Lope Garcia de Castro, in the autumn of the same year. Sarmiento was persecuted by the Holy Office for having been reported to have said that he knew how to make a certain ink with which, if a woman was written to, she would love the person who wrote the letter, though before she might have disliked him. His defence was that a female servant of the Conde de Nieva, named Payba, was talking nonsense about love affairs, and that he had told her that he had heard about such ink in Spain, but that he believed it to be a lie. There was also another equally absurd accusation about two rings engraved with Chaldæan characters, which were suspected of having been made by astrological art. Sarmiento, in his defence, said he had shown the rings to

his confessor, who said there was no harm in them.

The sentence was that he should hear mass in the cathedral at Lima, stripped naked, with a candle in his hand, and that he should be perpetually banished from the Indies. Until his departure he was to be kept in the Monastery of San Domingo at Lima, without any books, fasting on Wednesdays and Fridays, and reciting seven penitential psalms. Sarmiento appealed to the Pope, and obtained a commutation of the banishment, with license to reside at Cuzco and other parts of Peru until 1567. It was years before he was free from annoyance and persecution, and it was due to the great value of his services that he was protected by the Government from the intolerable tyranny of the Inquisition.

It may, I think, be gathered from this persecution that Sarmiento was of an imaginative turn of mind, fond of investigating any unusual phenomena, and of satisfying his curiosity touching all that was strange or occult. His subsequent history proves him to have been a good mathematician, and a man gifted with the inventive faculty. The history and antiquities of the Incas had a fascination for him and, during the first ten years of the residence in Peru, he travelled over the country, and collected much information which had escaped the attention of his predecessors. It was Sarmiento who first announced that the Inca Tupac Yupanqui had made an expedition by sea to the westward, and had discovered two islands called Nina-chumpi and Hahua-

chumpi. He believed that he had obtained information from the Incas which would enable him to fix their positions approximately, and he seems to have thought that they would constitute a valuable possession, worthy of being added to the Spanish dominions.[1]

In the year 1567 Sarmiento made a proposal for the discovery of these distant western islands to the Licentiate Castro, then Governor of Peru. In one of his memorials to Philip II he represented that he knew of many islands in the South Sea which were undiscovered until his time, and that he offered to undertake the enterprise with the approval of the Governor of Peru. Lope Garcia de Castro took him into the royal service, offering the command of the expedition and the whole government of the fleet to him. But Sarmiento insisted that it should be entrusted to a young nephew of Garcia de Castro named Alvaro de Mendaña; with the object of inducing the Governor to further the equipment and

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[1] Miguel Cavello Balboa, in his *Miscelanea Austral*, also mentions the voyage of Tupac Inca Yupanqui, which, he says, lasted more than a year. He discovered the two islands of *Hahua-chumpi* and *Nina-chumpi*, and returned with many black prisoners, much gold and silver, and a throne made of copper and skins of an animal like a horse. He started from the coast of Manta, north of Guayaquil, so that the two islands may have been two of the Galapagos, "Nina-chumpi" would mean Fire Island, and "Hahua-chumpi" Outer Island. There were volcanic eruptions on Narborough Island of the Galapagos group in 1814 and 1825.—See *Las Islas de Galapagos y otras mos poniente*, por Marcos Jimenes de la Espada.

despatch with greater zeal. He, however, stipulated that he should have the conduct of the discovery and navigation, and that no course should be altered without his consent.[1] He was appointed captain of Mendaña's ship, the *Capitana*, named "Los Reyes"; the pilot being Juan Enriquez, and the treasurer Gomez Catoira. On board the other ship, *Almiranta*, named "Todos Santos", was the Camp Master Pedro de Ortega, and the Chief Pilot Hernando Gallego. The two ships sailed from Callao on Wednesday, the 19th of November 1567.

Sarmiento intended to steer W.S.W. until he reached the 23rd parallel, and this course was persevered in until the 28th of November. On that day the Chief Pilot, Hernando Gallego, altered the course without consulting Sarmiento, and in defiance of the instructions; and in this proceeding he was supported by Mendaña.[2] It appears to have been their intention to abandon the discovery and make for the Philippine Islands. Sarmiento made a strong protest, but to no purpose. Mendaña and the Chief Pilot persisted in their more northerly course for forty days, in spite of the constant re-

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[1] Memorial of Sarmiento to Philip II, dated Cuzco, March 4th, 1572, in the *Tres Relaciones de Antiquedades Peruanas publicadas el Ministro de Fomento*, p. xix.

[2] *Breve relacion que se ha recogido de los papeles que se hallaron en esta ciudad de La Plata, cerca del viaje y descubrimiento de las islas del Poniente de la Mar de Sur, que comunmente llaman de Salomon—Coleccion de Muñoz*, tom. xxxvii; *Documentos Ineditos*, v, Cuaderno iii, p. 210.

monstrances of Sarmiento, who was supported by Pedro de Ortega, the Camp Master. Sarmiento urged that the lands of which he was in search were to the south. No land being sighted after so many days Mendaña became alarmed, and requested Sarmiento to resume charge of the navigation. He ordered a W.S.W. course to be shaped, but by this time the ships were in 5° S. and too far to the westward to retrace their steps to the position he wished to reach. He, however, said that land would be sighted on the next day, and this proved true. An island was discovered which received the name of "Nombre de Jesus". Then the "Candelaria" rocks were sighted on the 1st of February 1568, and on the 7th the great island was discovered, called "Atoglu" by the natives, and by the Spaniards "Santa Isabel de Estrella". Herrera says that it was first seen from the masthead by a boy named Trejo. The ships were anchored in a bay named "Estrella", possession was taken, and a brigantine, which had been taken out in pieces, was put together. Sarmiento then conducted a reconnoitring expedition inland, but met with hostility from the natives ; while Ortega examined the coast on board the brigantine and discovered several other islands. He gave one of them the name of "Guadalcanal", after his own native place near Seville.

In May the expedition left Santa Isabel, and, after sighting Malaita, Galera, Florida, and Cesarga, anchored off Guadalcanal. On the 19th and 22nd Sarmiento accompanied Mendaña and Ortega in

excursions into the interior, ascending a mountain, and enjoying a magnificent view. Afterwards a boat's crew was massacred by the natives, and Sarmiento was obliged to make severe reprisals. In August the expedition removed to the island of San Cristobal, where they remained for forty days, refitting and taking in supplies, and here the brigantine was abandoned. The whole group was named the Solomon Islands.

Sarmiento now desired to return by way of the islands discovered by the Inca, and submitted a report on September 4th, 1568. But Mendaña insisted upon steering east, and, when all the pilots remonstrated, he shaped a course for Mexico. On the 23rd of January 1569, they reached the port of Santiago de Colima, refitted at Realejo, and returned to Callao on September 11th. During the voyage there had been many disagreements, and Mendaña intended to bring charges against Sarmiento when he arrived at Lima. As little justice could be expected from the uncle in adjudicating on his nephew's conduct, Sarmiento considered it to be the wisest course to leave the ship at Realejo, and wait at Guatemala until the Licentiate Lope Garcia de Castro was relieved of his command.[1] Taking

[1] There are several narratives of the first voyage of Mendaña, when the Solomon Islands were discovered. A full account, which was used by Burney, is contained in Book v of the *Hechos de Don Garcia Hurtado de Mendoza, 4^e^ Marques de Cañete*, por D. Christoval Suarez de Figueroa (Madrid, 1614). This work was reprinted at Santiago de Chile in 1864, in the *Coleccion de*

the whole of the conflicting evidence, and comparing the various statements, it is clear that there was much incapacity and mismanagement, and that the expedition was saved from disaster on more than one occasion, and especially on the voyage home, through the seamanlike skill and scientific guidance of Pedro Sarmiento.

In November 1569, Lope Garcia de Castro had been relieved by Don Francisco de Toledo, brother of the Count of Oropesa, who came out to Peru with the restored title of Viceroy, which had been in abeyance since the murder of the Count of Nieva. He was a man advanced in years, devoted heart and soul to his public duties, energetic and resolute, but narrow-minded and unscrupulous. On hearing of his arrival Pedro Sarmiento returned to Peru, and he appears to have been at once restored to favour and taken back into the service by the new Viceroy. Sarmiento was confronted with Mendaña, both before the Viceroy and before the Royal Audience, and his explanation of his proceedings

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Historiadores de Chile. Herrera gives a short notice. The narrative in the *Documentos Ineditos* is from a manuscript found at La Plata. The Report of Mendaña himself at Simancas only takes us down to May 1568, the rest being lost. There is a copy in the *Muñoz Collection*, tom. xxxvii. The pilot Gallego wrote a journal, and the manuscript is in the British Museum. Another copy is in the possession of Lord Amherst of Hackney. Full extracts from it are given in Mr. Guppy's work. There is also a very interesting manuscript narrative of the voyage by the Treasurer Catoira, in the British Museum, but it has never been printed.

during the voyage was held to be completely satisfactory. Toledo then invited him to attend him in a visitation of all the provinces of Peru. His colleagues were the Jesuit historian Acosta, the Judge Matienza, and the accomplished lawyer Polo de Ondegardo. It was the belief of the shrewd but narrow-minded Toledo that there could be no security for Spanish rule while the natives retained a feeling of love and veneration for their ancient sovereigns. He resolved to get the last of the Incas, named Tupac Amaru, into his clutches, and soon after his arrival at Cuzco in 1571, he organized an expedition to penetrate into Vilcabamba with this object.

Hernando de Arbieto was the general of this force, with Pedro Sarmiento as "Alferez General". It was little more than a pursuit. The young Inca Tupac Amaru, with a few followers, fled down a mountain path with dense forest on one side and a precipice on the other. He was closely followed, and Sarmiento himself captured the ill-fated boy, who was brought in triumph to Cuzco. The Viceroy then committed a judicial murder which was alike a wicked crime and a gross blunder. The youthful sovereign, Tupac Amaru, was executed in the great square of Cuzco in October 1571; in spite of the protests of the most influential Spaniards, both lay and clerical, and of the outraged feelings of the people.

Pedro Sarmiento was aiding and abetting in this cruel and atrocious crime. He was unrelenting and

felt no remorse; for nine years afterwards he advised the King to continue the persecution of the surviving members of the Inca family.[1] From that time his good fortune departed. His great ability and loyalty obtained for him important posts, but in spite of skill and patience, of extraordinary resolution and dogged determination, his ill-luck never left him to the day of his death. The curse stuck to him—retribution for the murder of the last of the Incas.

After the execution the Viceroy Toledo employed Sarmiento, as "the most able man on this subject that I have found in the country", to prepare a map and to compile a history of the Incas for transmission to the King. His object was to show that the Incas had originally usurped the country from the former possessors, and that consequently it was just to depose their descendants. With a letter dated in the valley of Yucay, on March 1st, 1572, Toledo sent home this history, together with a genealogy and a map prepared by Sarmiento on four cloths. The bearer of this important despatch was Geronimo Pacheco. The cloths

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[1] "I left in Lima the eldest son of Titu Cusi Yupanqui, named Quispi Titu. He is in the house of a half caste, his cousin Francisco de Ampuero. I advise that the King should order these Incas to be brought to Spain, or somewhere away from the people of Peru. The people always retain the memory of the Incas in their hearts, and adore every one of Inca lineage."—Report, 15th April 1581 Thomar. *Papeles Historicos del Ex^mo Señor Conde de Valencia de Don Juan.*

are fully described in the covering letter. Their historical truth and accuracy were certified by thirty-seven experts of the principal *Ayllus* or lineages of the Inca family, and by the Spaniards Polo de Ondegardo,[1] Alonso de Mesa,[2] Mancio Serra de Leguisamo,[3] Juan de Pancorvo,[4] and Pedro Alonso Carrasco,[5] most of them among the early conquerors. The notary Navamuel says that on the four cloths were written and painted the figures of the Incas and their wives, with their *Ayllus* or lineages. On the first cloth was depicted the fable of Tambo Toco, and of the creation by Vira-cocha. On the second was a map, with the positions of the towns, executed by Pedro Sarmiento.

The history of the Incas, which accompanied the cloths, was long supposed to have been lost. But

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[1] The accomplished lawyer and statesman who came to Peru with the President Gasca. He was Corregidor of Charcas, and afterwards of Cuzco, and studied the laws and administration of the Incas with minute care. He wrote several invaluable reports.

[2] Alonso de Mesa was one of the first conquerors, and owned a house in the square of Our Lady at Cuzco, near that of Garcilasso de la Vega. His son was at court in 1600, and the Inca family sent him a petition to be delivered to the King.

[3] This is the conqueror who is said to have gambled away the golden sun of the temple at Cuzco in one night. He is more honourably known as a defender of the cause of the natives. He married an Inca princess.

[4] Juan de Pancorvo was one of the first conquerors who occupied a house at Cuzco with his friend and comrade Alonzo de Marchena.

[5] Another of the earliest conquerors to whom a house at Cuzco was granted in 1557.

the original document has recently been discovered in the library of the University of Göttingen. The binding was of red silk, with a coat of arms the size of a page, signed "el Capitã Sarmi de Gãboa". Under the red silk there was another binding of green leather. This was probably the copy sent to the King. The document formed part of the celebrated library of Abraham Gronow, which was sold in 1785. It consists of eight leaves of introduction and 138 of text. Pages 4 to 8 contain the dedication to the King, written at Cuzco and signed by Sarmiento on March 4th, 1572, in which the Viceroy Francisco de Toledo is belauded, and the claim of Philip II to the title of King of Peru is set forth.

The second page contains the title, surrounded by an ornamental border. "*Segunda Parte de la historia general llamada yndica, le qual por mandado del Ex^mo^ Francisco de Toledo, Gobernador y Capitan General de los reynos del Peru y Major-domo de la Casa Real de Castilla, compuso el Capitan Pedro Sarmiento.*[1] At the beginning of the history the

[1] The work contains accounts of the early possessors of Peru and their chiefs, of the first settlers at Cuzco, of the fabulous origin of the Incas, of their march to Cuzco, of the mixture of fable with history, of the entrance of Manco Capac into the valley of Cuzco and his disputes with the Alcabizas over the arable lands, of the succeeding Incas, of the war with the Chancas, of the rebuilding of Cuzco by Pachacutec, of the conquests of Pachacutec, of the *Mitimaes*, of the Colla war, of the reign of Tupac Yupanqui, of his building the fortress of Cuzco, of the reign of Huayna Capac, of the civil war between Huascar and Atahualpa, of the coming of the Spaniards. He places the duration of the Inca dynasty from 565 to 1533.

author says that it will be divided into three parts, the first containing the natural history, the second a narrative of the tyranny of the Incas down to the death of Huascar. The first and third parts never appear to have been written. But the second part, now at Göttingen, contains the history of the Incas. Its discovery is very important, and all students of American history will look forward to the publication of the text with great interest.

In the following year the persecution of the Inquisition was resumed. A trumpery charge was brought against Sarmiento respecting some astronomical rings, doubtless for purposes connected with navigation. The ignorant dolts thought they had to do with necromancy. One false witness deposed that Sarmiento had been publicly flogged at Puebla de los Angeles, in Mexico, for having made a graven image. In November 1573 he presented a pamphlet of twelve leaves, in the Holy Office, to show that the astronomical rings were not superstitious, but that they were practically useful. After long delay the sentence of the Inquisition was that Sarmiento was a dangerous man and that he must fulfil his former sentence of banishment. But at that time he was serving under the Viceroy, in an arduous campaign against the Chiriguanos, in the dense forests to the eastward of the Andes. On their return, the Holy Office was informed that Sarmiento was a valuable public servant, and that he could not be spared. The irritating persecution of the Inquisitors was, however, continued. Sarmiento was next accused of having shown the

lines on the palm of his hand to an old woman, and told her that they would cause him to kill two people in Peru. He was found guilty, imprisoned in November 1575, and again sentenced to be banished. But once more the Viceroy Toledo interfered, ordered his release, and placed him under special protection. Sarmiento continued to be a captain in the King's service, in high favour with the Viceroy, and was in that position when Francis Drake arrived at Callao in February 1579.

Sarmiento was employed in the unsuccessful chase of Drake as far as Panama, and when the Viceroy resolved to send ships to the Straits of Magellan to intercept Drake on his return, and to fortify the passage with a view to preventing the entry of any pirates who might attempt to follow Drake into the South Sea, Sarmiento was appointed to the command of the expedition. Toledo was not a man to entrust such a service to any one from motives of friendship or personal predilection. He was cold and unsympathetic, and was devoted wholly to the good of the service. He must, therefore, have formed a very high opinion of the capacity of Sarmiento, and of his special fitness. Undoubtedly he was right. Sarmiento was a thorough seaman, possessing all the scientific knowledge of his time. Long accustomed to the command of men, he knew how to treat them, how to win their confidence, and how to get good work from them. He had forethought and presence of mind. Above all he was endowed with that indomitable perseverance which deserves, if it does

not always command, success. He was very superstitious, but his strong religious beliefs inspired his own acts, and tended to fill his followers with like enthusiasm. He was a true-hearted, loyal man.

The original copy of the narrative and route journal of the voyage through Magellan's Strait, written by Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa, addressed to the King and legally certified by a notary, is in the Royal Library of Madrid. Argensola, in his history of the Moluccas, gives an abstract of it, extending to considerable length.[1] The journal was edited by Don Bernardo Yriarte, and published at Madrid in 1768. The Editor made diligent search for Sarmiento's charts, but without success. He thought it possible that they might be in the "Casa de Contratacion" at Seville, or in the depository of the Franciscan Convent at Cadiz, but they were not to be found. The Journal is now translated for the first time. "Narrative and Route of the voyage and discovery to the Strait of the Mother of God, formerly called of Magellan, by the Captain Don Pedro Sarmiento y Gamboa." Sarmiento was the first to survey and give a detailed description of the Strait. Magellan was in the Strait from October 21st to November 27th, 1520, but the historians of his voyage give no detailed descriptions. The fleet of Garcia de Loaysa and Sebastian del Cano entered the Strait on April 8th and left it on

[1] Lib. IV, pp. 109-136.

May 26th, 1526.[1] Simon de Alcazava[2] entered the Strait in January 1535, but his ships never got through. He was murdered by his crew. In 1557 Juan Ladrilleros was sent from Chile to examine the approaches to the Strait from the Pacific side, and discovered the island of Chiloe and the Chonos Archipelago, but did not enter the Strait.[3]

Francis Drake entered the Strait on August 20th, 1578, and cleared it in seventeen days, passing out into the Pacific on the 6th of September.

Thus Magellan, Loaysa, Alcazava, and Drake, were the predecessors of Sarmiento, but the historians of none of these voyages have given an account of the Strait to be compared for a moment with that of the accomplished Spanish surveyor. Sarmiento discovered and explored, in three perilous boat voyages, the intricate channels leading from the Gulf of Trinidad. He described his voyage through the Strait in great detail, and in a most interesting narrative. His work has received the

[1] The narrative of the expedition under Garcia Jofre de Loaysa was written by Andres de Urdaneta, one of his captains. It is in the *Coleccion de Muñoz*, tom. xxxvi, and was published in the *Coleccion de Documentos Ineditos* (Madrid, 1866), tom. v, cuaderno i, pp. 5-67. Burney gives an account of the expedition gathered from notices in Gomara, Herrera, and Galvano.

[2] The story of the voyage of Alcazava was told by the notary Alonso Vehedor. It is in the *Coleccion de Muñoz*, tom. xxxvi, and was published in 1866 in the *Coleccion de Documentos Ineditos*, tom. v, cuaderno ii, pp. 97-117. There is another account by Juan de Mori, one of the officers.

[3] The account of the voyage of Ladrilleros is in the life of the Marquis of Cañate, by Figueroa.

high praise of modern English surveyors from Fitz Roy to Nares, and Sarmiento consequently takes a foremost rank among the navigators of the sixteenth century.

When Sarmiento arrived in Spain, his representations, and those of the Viceroy Toledo, led to the equipment of a large fleet to fortify the Strait and to form settlements, with which object a number of colonists were embarked with their families. The command of the fleet was entrusted to a most incompetent officer named Diego Flores de Valdes, while Sarmiento was to be the Governor and Captain-General of the forts and settlements in the Strait. This arrangement led to disaster and ruin. For Sarmiento had no power until the Strait was reached, and could only advise and protest.

The second document in the present volume is a Report by Sarmiento, written from Rio de Janeiro on June 1st, 1583, the original of which is preserved in the *Coleccion de Juan Bautista Muñoz.* It gives some account of the equipment of the fleet, and is particularly interesting because it describes the system for the supply of charts, and the details of an observation for an eclipse of the sun, to ascertain the longitude of Lima.

The third document contains an enumeration of the names of the ships and officers of the fleet of Diego Flores and Pedro Sarmiento.[1]

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[1] From the *Navarrete MSS.*, copied from the Archives of the Indies.

The narrative of the voyage, of the disgraceful conduct of Diego Flores, of Sarmiento's inexhaustible patience and determination, of the final establishment of two settlements in the Straits of Magellan, and of the subsequent misfortunes and adventures of Sarmiento, is contained in the fourth document, which is a detailed report by that deserving but unlucky officer himself.[1] This is the history of a great calamity: the story of a resolute and loyal man battling against insuperable difficulties and, though succumbing in the end, yet continuing the brave struggle against fate to the last gasp. But there was a curse on the executioner of the last of the Incas.

Sarmiento sent home another detailed Report, from Pernambuco, dated 18th of September 1584, which is preserved but still remains in manuscript.[2] I have a copy of the Pernambuco Report, which I have collated with the translated Report in this volume, noting any additional information or discrepancies.

The fifth and last of the documents forming the present volume is the Deposition of Tomé Hernandez, one of the survivors of the settlers in the Straits of Magellan, who was taken on board by Cavendish in January 1587, and escaped near Valparaiso. The

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[1] MS. *Coleccion de Muñoz*, tom. xxxvii, copied from the original document at Simancas. Published in the *Coleccion de Documentos Ineditos*, tom. v, cuadernos, iii, iv and v.

[2] *Navarrete MSS.*, copied from the original in the Archives of the Indies.

Deposition was taken many years afterwards at Lima, by order of the Prince of Esquilache, the Viceroy of Peru.[1] It is a harrowing tale.

When Tomé Hernandez was embarked by Cavendish, the other survivors of the settlers landed by Sarmiento were abandoned to their fate. There were fifteen men and three women. The *Delight* of Bristol, commanded by Captain Andrew Merick, entered the Straits of Magellan in December 1589, and found one Spaniard at Port Famine. He said he had been there six years, and that he was the sole survivor out of 400 settlers landed in 1582. Captain Merick took the wretched man on board, but he died on the passage home, and his name is not given.

It is not quite certain what became of Pedro Sarmiento, after his return to Spain from captivity. He wrote a letter to Philip II, entreating him to send succour to the abandoned settlers in the Straits, dated November 21st, 1591. He then appears to have gone out to the Philippine Islands by way of Mexico. The Governor of the Philippines, Don Gonzalo Ronquillo de Peñalosa, sent an expedition to conquer Tidore, under the command of Captain Pedro Sarmiento and of Juan Ronquillo, nephew of the Governor. The landing was opposed, but the defenders were repulsed, and Sarmiento formed an

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[1] Published at the end of the volume containing the Journal of Sarmiento, in 1768. It was obtained by the Editor from the collection of the Mariscal de Campo Don Eugenio de Alvarado.

entrenched camp and planted his artillery. But a pestilence broke out, the enterprise was abandoned, and they returned to Manilla. Argensola says that Pedro Sarmiento was living at Manilla when he wrote, in 1608.[1] He probably died there soon afterwards, as he was then a very old man.[2]

Argensola says that, besides his History of the Incas, the Narrative of his Voyage, and his numerous Reports, Sarmiento wrote a Treatise on Navigation, a Notice of the Stars, and Treatises on fortification and on the founding of artillery.

I have received copies of several manuscript reports by Sarmiento, from Spain, which have been useful in editing the documents composing the present volume, and in writing this introduction. One relates to the affairs of Peru and to the treatment of the surviving Incas; another is a report on the kind of vessels most suitable for navigating the Straits of Magellan; two more are pitiful letters to the Secretary Idiaquez and to the King, from the

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[1] *Conquista de las Islas Malucas*, por el licenciado Bartolomè Leonardo de Argensola (Madrid, 1609), lib. v, pp. 167-169. See also *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas*, por el Doctor Antonio de Morga (Mexico, 1609), translation, Hakluyt Society, 1868, ch. iv, p. 28.

[2] I am not quite satisfied that this Pedro Sarmiento of Manilla was the great navigator. The invasion of Tidore under Ronquillo appears to have taken place before Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa, who was in Spain in the autumn of 1591, could possibly have reached Manilla. There was another Pedro Sarmiento who died at Potosi in 1610, but he certainly could not have been the great navigator.

prison of Mont Marsan; another contains statements respecting the amount of the ransom. There are several other documents of less importance, relating to the expeditions of Sarmiento.

I owe more than I can express in words to my friend Don Marcos Jimenes de la Espada of Madrid, for his kind and ever ready assistance. He not only sent me a list of the manuscripts relating to the affairs of Sarmiento, and arranged for the transcription of those that I required, but he himself carefully collated the copies with the originals, and even himself made a copy of one of the most important documents. He also gave me various useful references. To Professors Meyer and Pretschmann of Göttingen my best thanks are due for informing me of the existence of the History of the Incas by Sarmiento, and especially to Professor Pretschmann for furnishing me with a full abstract of its contents. I trust that he will soon be in a position to print the text. Last, but not least, I owe thanks to my friend Dr. Coppinger, the distinguished Arctic officer and naturalist, for helping me to identify plants mentioned by Sarmiento as growing on the shores of the Straits of Magellan.

VOYAGE

TO THE

STRAIT OF MAGELLAN

BY

THE CAPTAIN

PEDRO SARMIENTO DE GAMBÓA,

IN THE YEARS 1579 AND 1580,

AND

ACCOUNTS OF THE EXPEDITION

WHICH AFTERWARDS WENT TO FORM A SETTLEMENT IN THE STRAIT, UNDER PEDRO SARMIENTO.

BY

PEDRO SARMIENTO HIMSELF,

AND BY

TOMÉ HERNANDEZ

(THE SURVIVOR).

I.

NARRATIVE AND ROUTE

OF THE

VOYAGE AND DISCOVERY

TO THE

STRAIT OF THE MOTHER OF GOD,

FORMERLY CALLED "OF MAGELLAN".

I.

Causes for sending the Expedition. — Appointment of Pedro Sarmiento.—Fitting out of the Ships.—Instructions of the Viceroy.—Orders of Sarmiento.—List of Officers.

AFTER Don Francisco de Toledo,[1] Viceroy of Peru, sent two ships, with more than 200 men, in pursuit of the pirate Francisco Draquez,[2] which arrived at Panama without finding more than a report of his proceedings, and returned to Lima (of which your Majesty will have notice), con-

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[1] Don Francisco de Toledo, a younger brother of the fourth Count of Oropesa, succeeded the Governor Lope Garcia de Castro in the government of Peru, in 1569, with the title of Viceroy. He was a man of great energy and resolution, devoted heart and soul to his public duties, but narrow-minded and unsympathetic. His cruel execu-

[2] Sir Francis Drake. He was at Callao on February 15th, 1579.

sidering the importance to the security of all the Indies on the South Sea, for the service of God our Lord, the increase and preservation of His Holy Church which your Majesty holds and maintains in these parts, and that which it is hoped will be established, and not to leave anything unexplored for the service of your Majesty and your subjects; as well as because there was the public fame and fear of the two English ships, consorts of Francisco Draquez, which remained behind on the coasts of Chile and Arica,[1] and which had carried their arms into those ports, so that the people did not know what to do, ceasing their business, because the merchants feared to risk their goods, and the sailors to navigate; and it being the public fame that Francisco would return by the Strait, as he now knew where it was; for all these reasons, and to prepare for future events, he determined to send to and discover the Strait of Magellan, which it was held to be almost impossible to discover by the way of the South Sea, owing to the innumerable openings and channels which there are before arriving at it, where many discoverers had been lost who had been sent by the Governors of Peru and Chili. Although persons had been there who entered by the North Sea, they never succeeded. Some were lost, and others returned, so tossed about by storms and uncertain of what could be discovered, that there was a general dread of that navigation.

The object was to dispel this fear once for all, and that the Strait might be explored and properly surveyed and examined throughout to ascertain the best plan for closing

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tion of the young Inca Tupac Amaru, at Cuzco, in 1571, is a foul blot on his character. But he regulated the administration, and his *Libro de Tasas* was the text-book for the guidance of future Viceroys. He ruled Peru for thirteen years, returning to Spain in 1581. He died in 1584.

[1] Of these two ships, the *Elizabeth* went back into the strait and returned home; and the *Marigold* foundered at sea.

it and so guarding those kingdoms against an enemy, a matter which concerns his Majesty's service more than is generally understood, no less than his kingdoms and estates, and the bodies and souls of their inhabitants.

This having been well considered in council with the Royal Audience of Lima, the Royal officers, and persons of great experience in the government of things pertaining both to sea and land, it was resolved that two ships should be sent to the above said Strait of Magellan. Within ten days of the vessels returning from Panama the Viceroy began to make preparations. Although he was unwell, he went personally to the port, which is two leagues from the city, went on board the ships and, with lanthorns and officers, examined them down to their keels. From among them he selected the two strongest, newest, and best sailers and purchased them for your Majesty.

He ordered the captain, Pedro Sarmiento, to undertake the responsibility of this voyage of discovery with the title of Superior Captain of both ships ; and Pedro Sarmiento,[1] to serve His Majesty, accepted it, notwithstanding many things which might have made him decline. But as his habit always was to risk his life in the service of his King and natural Lord, it was not for him to turn back nor excuse himself, for fear of death nor of the dangers that were notorious, nor because it was a service from which all others turned away. Rather, he offered himself the more willingly to the service of God and of your Majesty, so that if his deeds should equal his will your Majesty will be certainly well served.

As soon as they bought the ships, the business of equipment was put in hand, as well the carpenter's and blacksmith's work, the supply of ropes, sails, and provisions, as all other needful things. There were assisting in

[1] Sarmiento writes of himself in the third person.

the port for the despatch of the ships Don Francisco Henrique de Lara,[1] His Majesty's agent, and a Knight of the Habit of Santiago, and Pedro Sarmiento, who went to and fro from the city to the port superintending the fitting out and the entry of men, and arranging for the pay of the sailors and for assistance from the soldiers. This was a very troublesome business, for as the enterprise was one of great danger and little profit, no one wished to embark in it, and many ran away and hid themselves. At last the necessary number was got together—112 in all, half sailors and half soldiers. As the summer was passing, and there was no time to lose, the Viceroy came to the port a second time, and personally superintended all the preparations until they were completed. The work of the marine department was usually executed by the Licentiate Recalde, Judge of the Royal Audience of Lima, who carried out the orders of the Viceroy with much diligence. The Treasurer and Accountant in Lima superintended the business of wages, outfit and victualling, as directed by the Viceroy. With this diligence the ships were got ready sooner than it was thought possible.

The squadron being ready for sea, the Viceroy named the large ship *Nuestra Señora de Esperanza*, to which Pedro Sarmiento was appointed as captain; and the smaller one, *San Francisco*, which was made *Almiranta*. Juan de Villalobos was appointed Admiral.[2] In order to take leave of them his Excellency ordered to appear before him on

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[1] See note further on.

[2] The Spaniards made the title of *Almirante* peculiar to sea-commanders in the time of Alfonso X (1252-1284), and it afterwards became, with them, the title of the second in command of a fleet. Edward I, the brother-in-law of Alfonso IX, introduced the title of Admiral into England, but as that of the commander-in-chief at sea. Eventually the *Almirante* became the chief commander in Spain also.

Friday, the 9th of October 1579, the Captain-Superior, Admiral, and the other officers and soldiers who were then present in the city. He spoke to them affably and seriously, not concealing the great difficulty of the undertaking on which they were employed, at the same time putting before them the rewards and recognition they would receive, and charging them to work for the service of God our Lord, and of his Majesty, and for the honour and reputation of Spain. After this he delivered the banner to the Capitan-Mayor, who handed it to the Alferez, Juan Gutierrez de Guevara. They all kissed his Excellency's hand, who dismissed them with his blessing.

On Saturday the Capitan-Mayor[1] went on board, followed by the other officers, soldiers, and sailors who were in the city. On the same day, in the port and in presence of the Licentiate Judge Recalde and the Royal officers, the Secretary, Alvaro Ruiz de Navamuel,[2] read the instructions of the Viceroy to the Capitan-Mayor, Admiral, and Pilots, which were as follows. I insert them here because the Viceroy ordered that I should submit them to the Royal person of his Majesty and to his Royal Council of the Indies.

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[1] Sarmiento. "Captain-Superior", also called "Capitan-Mayor" or "Chief Captain".

[2] Alvaro Ruiz de Navamuel y de los Rios was the son of Francisco de los Rios and of his wife Ines de Navamuel, and was born at Aguilar de Campo. He was Secretary to the government of Peru under five Viceroys, from 1569 to 1596. The Viceroy Toledo was a witness to the marriage of his brother Francisco with Juana Aliaga, a daughter of one of the first conquerors of Peru. Afterwards Don Alvaro's daughter married her cousin Don Geronimo Aliaga, from whom descended the Counts of Luringancho. Don Alvaro Ruiz de Navamuel died on June 27th, 1613. He wrote a history of the administration of Don Francisco de Toledo while he was Viceroy of Peru, dated Dec. 1578, previous to the departure of the expedition of Sarmiento.

"Instructions of the Viceroy.

"For the honour and glory of God, and of the Virgin Mary His Mother and our Lady, whom you Captain Pedro Sarmiento are to take for Advocate and Patron of the ships and crews under your orders, for this discovery and enterprise in the Strait of Magellan, with which you have been entrusted by reason of the experience which you have acquired in your own person in undertakings and operations of war both by sea and land during the ten years that I have been in this kingdom; and that you may, by your labours and diligence, further the service of His Majesty the King our Lord and safeguard these realms so that they may not be occupied by the enemies of our Holy Catholic Faith as they would desire, thus placing in peril what has been gained.

"As you have seen, two ships have been armed and equipped for this service, the one named the *Nuestra Señora de Esperanza* which goes as *Capitana*, in which you, the said Pedro Sarmiento sail as Captain, and the other named *San Francisco* in which Juan de Villalobos goes as Admiral. It, therefore, is convenient to the service of God our Lord and of the royal Majesty, as well as to the success of the voyage, that the said Admiral, Pilots, officers, sailors and soldiers of the said ships, *Capitana* and *Almiranta*, should obey you the said Pedro Sarmiento as Captain of the said squadron. It is thus provided and ordered in conformity with the titles of the said officers, which you and the said Admiral bear, on pain of what is incurred by those who disobey their captains, and this is given as an instruction to the said Juan de Villalobos, Admiral. And you shall communicate with him the orders contained in these Instructions, forming your decisions as most in accordance with them, so that all shall perform their respective duties with the fidelity that binds them, in a business of such importance. Besides what is contained in the rules, you shall observe the following Instructions, on pain of what is incurred by those who do not obey the orders given them in the name of his Majesty our Lord the King.

I. "First you are directed and ordered to take particular care that you and the people under your orders shall behave yourselves, during the voyage, as becomes Christians in

the service of our Lord, for the duty on which you are employed makes it important that you should be specially particular on this point and that you should punish whoever acts in a contrary way as the offence may deserve.

II. "There will be delivered over to your charge the two ships now ready in this port, the *Capitana* named *Nuestra Señora de Esperanza* and the *Almiranta* named *San Francisco*, supplied and furnished with double stores, and with provisions and munitions, and artillery and arquebuses from the royal arsenal, which will be delivered to you with a memorial of the whole by the Royal Officers of this city. You are to give a similar list to the masters of the said ships whose duty it will be to serve them out; and you are to notify this my Instruction to the pilots, that they may know and not be in ignorance of what is directed and ordered to be done.

III. "Having set forth with the good fortune that God may grant, from this port, you shall take the route you have, and which we have arranged, without touching on the coast of the kingdom of Chile, but making for 54 or 55, according as you shall find it most convenient for reaching the mouth of the strait. You shall give the route to the said Admiral, pilot, master and officers of the said ship *San Francisco* that they may navigate so as to follow you, and the lantern is always to be shown by both ships by night. You shall communicate whenever it is possible, assigning a rendezvous in case you are separated by a storm, so as to return to or to wait one for the other, and, in conformity with the weather and what is possible, you shall thus follow your route.

IV. "In the course of your navigation, you are to understand that all that occurs, as well the courses by which you steer, as the lands that you sight and discover, is to be written in a book that you are to take for that purpose, as well yourself as the said Admiral in the other ship, and also you are to make a chart. This you are to do, in your own person and on board your own ship, in the presence of Juan Desquibel and Francisco de Trejo, Notaries, who have been appointed to the said ships.

Besides this you are to give orders to the said Admiral, pilot, master, and other persons of the said *Almiranta* that they do the same; and what may be thus written is to be read in public on board the said ships every day. This is to be recorded by the notary of each ship, that it may appear in what manner this order is obeyed, and what authority has been given to it. If any of those on board the said ships should consider that the truth has not been kept to, or that any circumstance ought to be set down or noticed, what they say is to be noted, that all may be recorded, and they shall sign their names to it, jointly with the chaplains who go in each of the ships, the notary witnessing the signatures.

V. "Throughout the voyage you are to take care, as well yourself in the one ship, as the said Admiral in the *Almiranta*, to shape your courses, and to watch and note carefully the routes, and currents and tides that you encounter, and the winds as they blow during the course of your voyage; as well as the reefs, rocks, islands, lands, rivers, harbours, anchorages, and bays that you may meet with. These are to be recorded in each ship, in the books which you are ordered to take for this purpose; and on the charts which you and the other pilots are instructed to make, consulting and comparing that of one ship with that of the other, communicating for that purpose as often as you can, and as the weather will permit. You are to understand that, when it is possible, you are to set up high crosses at points selected by you, as beacons for those who may afterwards be passing; and where no names are given, you shall record the positions in the said books and in the charts.

VI. "When you are in the latitude of the entrance to the Strait, you shall be much more careful to observe all the features of land and sea that you may find, noting the conveniences for settlements, and if there are any signs of people having been there before, without omitting to enter every detail. You are diligently to make yourself acquainted with all the mouths leading from the sea into the Strait; you are to measure them and give them

names, surveying alike their width and their depth, and explaining in which of them there are the greatest conveniences for fortifying.

VII. "Having done this, you are to enter the said Strait by the mouth that appears to you most convenient, and you are to proceed, in company with the other ship, *Almiranta*, without leaving or parting from each other, so that what one sees the other may see, and that both may bear testimony to all that may happen. Throughout the extent of the Strait to where you come out you are not to desist from writing the same descriptive details, and you are to take special care to note whether on one or the other coast there is any settlement, and what people are living in it, with all the details that you are able to obtain, noted down with the utmost clearness and precision.

VIII. "Wherever you may see fit to stop and go on shore, you are to take possession, in the name of His Majesty, of all the lands and provinces and ports you will have reached, performing the necessary acts and solemnities which are to be testified in public form by the notaries you take with you.

IX. "When you fall in with any settlement of Indians, after having made friends by giving them such things as you carry for the purpose—scissors, combs, knives, fish-hooks, coloured buttons, mirrors, bells, glass beads and other articles of that kind, you shall arrange to take some Indians for interpreters from that place to any other which seems most convenient. You are to treat them well, and by means of the said languages, or in the best way you can, you are to converse with the natives, and hold discourses and conversations with them, so as to learn their customs, character, and manner of life, with particulars of their religion and of the idols they worship; also you are to collect particulars respecting their sacrifices and religious ceremonies, and to ascertain whether the people have among them any doctrine, any kind of learning, and how they are governed, if they have kings, if so, whether they succeed by election or by right of blood, or whether the government is republican,

what rents and taxes they give and pay, and what persons and things are those which they most esteem. What products have they in their land, what things do they bring from other parts, which they hold in estimation. Ascertain whether there are metals in the land and of what kinds; whether there are spices or any kind of aromatic drugs. For this inquiry you are to take some specimens of spices, such as pepper, cloves, cinnamon, ginger, nutmeg, and others, to show the people and find out whether they know them. You shall also inform yourself whether there are any kinds of stones or precious things such as have value in our country. You are to inquire about the animals, wild or domestic, and concerning the quality of plants and trees, whether wild or cultivated; also touching the supplies of provisions to be had, and such as are profitable you shall obtain for your voyage. You shall take nothing from the Indians against their wills, but only by barter, or when given voluntarily. In this manner you are to inform yourself and give an account of all the things you possibly can, without being detained or hampered, or allowing so much time to pass as to hinder the principal objects of the voyage.

X. "Having arrived in the North Sea, you shall take steps to join company with the other ship, if you should have been unavoidably separated, for the purpose of exploring the entrances to the Strait on that side, and ascertaining the conveniences for fortifying and forming a settlement there; and you shall do this either personally or by employing those in your ship. This is to be done with the same care and diligence as you are ordered to use in examining the other entrances to the said Strait. If there should be time for one of the ships to return, it shall be that which you shall select, and she is to return by one of the entrances, not being the one by which you have come out, but one of the others of those that it is understood that there are in the said Strait. For it will be of little use to discover one if another is left for the pirates. She is to have the information which you have been ordered to collect, and which shall be most useful

to enable the said ship to return to this land and port where we are.

XI "In the event of there being no time[1] to return, you are to arrange that the said ship which you shall have selected, with the despatches you carry for the Governor and Municipality of the Rio de la Plata,[2] shall coast along thither to winter, and wait for the proper season; and you are to decide when and how she is to proceed, and by which of the mouths she is to return to this kingdom, and to the port of this city, to report to me, or to the Governor then in office, and to this Royal Audience, all that has been seen in going and returning, all that has happened, the weather and winds that were encountered. Those who shall come shall here be remunerated and rewarded in accordance with the orders that may be given by His Majesty, and in conformity with what will be so justly the due of men who have made so momentous and important a voyage. With this ship you are to send two records in duplicate of all your proceedings up to that time. One is to be prepared in order that the Governor or Municipality of the Rio de la Plata may send it to me, or to this Royal audience, by land, by way of Tucuman, the other that is may be sent in the said ship. But, in order that there may be no failure in this, under whatever circumstances, you in your ship, and the said Admiral in the other, or whichever of you, in the event of your being separated, and not arriving together, or arriving together, or in whatever other manner you arrive, you are to send these despatches by one of the soldiers on board, so that intelligence may reach me of what has happened, by way of the Rio de la Plata and the province of Tucuman, closed and sealed. Besides this, you are to leave another despatch with the said Governor of Rio de la Plata, so that he may send it to His Majesty by whatever opportunity may offer, in addition to the one which you carry. Thus, in conformity with these orders,

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[1] *I.e.*, no time before winter sets in.

[2] See Appendix A.

with the object that there may be no detention of the ship which has to take the news to His Majesty, on board each ship there are to be four copies of the narrative written during the voyage for the following purpose. One is to remain on board each ship. One is to be left with the Government of Rio de la Plata to be sent to His Majesty. One to be delivered to the same Government to be sent to me by way of Tucuman. The fourth is to be conveyed by the soldier whom you may select to send with it. But if it should appear to you that there may be delay you should send it with the brigantine,[1] that she may bring it as desired. For all this is of great importance, so as to provide for every doubtful contingency.

XII. "Having given the above orders to the ship you may have selected to return, you are to comply with the following order yourself: Prosecute your voyage for the kingdoms of Spain, making direct for the port of San Lucar, or any other on that coast that you may make with most convenience.

XIII. "When you arrive at that or another port you are to take the said narratives, relations, and descriptions that you are to make during the voyage, not only up to the time of leaving the Strait, but also touching the navigation of the said North Sea, because throughout your voyage you are to take your notes, looking out for and recording very carefully the special matters enumerated in another paragraph of these instructions, entering them in the said book and chart, and reading them in public every day that what passes may be better recorded, and that the truth may be established, the notary certifying, and all who can write adding their signatures, as it is laid down.

XIV. "With this Narrative, and with the Despatch you are to take with you for His Majesty, you will go before his royal person and supreme Royal Council of the Indies, to give an account of the execution and accomplish-

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[1] Sarmiento took with him all the materials for the construction of a brigantine if such a course should be found advisable; and it is to this brigantine that the Viceroy refers in his Instructions.

ment of your instructions, and to present the said relations, informations, and descriptions, authenticated in the manner laid down, in order that His Majesty may order and provide for all that will be most for his service in the security of that Strait before it can be occupied by the pirates who now know of it. From here notice will have been given to His Majesty of the despatch of the two ships and of the object of their voyage, that he may expect the report which you will bring, and be in a position to provide for everything.

XV. "In order that the work which is ordered to be done and recorded may be better executed as regards a knowledge and description of the land and sea, you and the Admiral and pilots, each one in his own ship, are to take altitudes as well of the sun as of stars in all the places that you can where they are visible, communicating and comparing between yourselves whenever it is possible, as a matter of great importance.

XVI. "If, in the course of your voyage, when off the coasts in the South Sea, or in the Strait, or on the other side in the North Sea, you should fall in with any English or other piratical ships, or should find any settlement of them in any of those parts, or should receive certain intelligence that they are in some island, take pains to get the most accurate information possible, as regards their numbers, their resources, and the munitions of war they possess, and of the time when they arrived and made their settlement, and give me notice in the way laid down. You will do this as time and occasion prompts you, without in any way ceasing from carrying out the object of your voyage, or turning from the prosecution of the ends which you are sent to attain. But if you should encounter or receive news of the ship in which Francisco Draquez, the English Pirate, sails, who has entered into this sea and coast of the South, and committed the robberies and injuries that are known to you, you are to endeavour to take, kill or destroy him, fighting with him at whatever risk; for you have with you a sufficient force, munitions, and arms, to be able to take him according to the force he carries, or can carry.

This you shall do with great diligence and without losing any opportunity, for you know how important it is for the service of God our Lord, and of his Majesty, and for the good of these realms, that that pirate should be captured and punished. Our Lord God, in whose service it is done, will give you force to do it. If he is captured, you and your officers and soldiers shall be very well recompensed from the plunder that they have secured, and other rewards shall be conferred on you, all which I promise in the name of his Royal Majesty. If you should meet with or hear of other piratical ships, or of his consorts, in conformity with what has been said above, you may attack, or do what seems most advisable, always having trust in God our Lord, who will give you force against your enemies, and that should encourage you. And these orders should be specially impressed upon the Admiral, officers and men of your ships, that they may comply with them, and give their help in accordance with the orders that have been given.

XVII. "As I am given to understand that the weather is often bad along the coast of the Strait, you are to take notice that if, for this or any other reason, the *Capitana* should be lost or should be parted from the *Almiranta*, you are not on this account to desist from prosecuting the voyage, and the same order applies to the other ship, with the caution, diligence and care that is to be expected from your zeal and ability. You are to take evidence respecting the weather, and the circumstances, whether unavoidable or otherwise, under which the ship was left, parted company, or was lost, with the regard for truth and fidelity that is expected from you, in order that, at a fit time, those who were culpable may be punished as such neglect and disobedience may deserve; which, however, we neither believe, nor is it just that it should be assumed of men of the Spanish nation, so famed for their great deeds.

XVIII. "In the event of parting company and of only one ship entering the Strait, you are to take notice that, after leaving the said beacons already mentioned, she is to

proceed to Spain and give an account of everything to His Majesty, and to the said Royal Council, for from thence must come the remedy and precaution of closing and impeding the passage through the said Strait, by the pirates.

XIX. "In the said event of the parting company of the ships, as both ships go with the same object, which is to discover the said Strait in obedience to orders, and to come out into the North Sea; in order to make known which ship is ahead, and one ship having sailed for Spain to prevent the other from doing so also, instead of returning in accordance with the instructions, you are to arrange with the admiral, pilots, and master of the other ship, that certain signs shall be left that they will know and understand, if possible in writing, and placed where the vessel that is astern will see them; and these should be left in as many places as possible, that there may be no confusion in the arrangements from want of information.

"All which you the said Captain and Admiral, each one as in duty bound, will do and carry out with the prudence and care that is expected from you, and that a business so useful to the service of our Lord God and of His Majesty requires of you. For this I order that there shall be delivered to each of you a copy of these Instructions signed by my hand, and attested by Albaro Ruiz de Navamuel, Secretary to the Government of these realms, who will read them to you and to the officers of war and pilots, that all may understand what they have to comply with, and observe in the said voyage and discovery. You the said Captain and Admiral shall observe and comply with the said Instructions, on pain of falling into evil case, and of incurring the other punishments due to those who do not obey the orders and instructions given in the name of His Majesty the King, our Lord. Dated in the city of the Kings on the 9th day of the month of October 1579.

"Don Francisco de Toledo.

"By command of His Excellency

"Albaro Ruiz de Navamuel."

"Notification and Oath.

"In the port and Callao of the city of the Kings of the realms and provinces of Peru, on the 10th day of October 1579, in presence of the illustrious Lords the Licentiate Recalde, Judge of the Royal Audience and Chancellery which has its seat in the city of the Kings, and Don Francisco Manrique de Lara,[1] Domingo de Garro, and Pedro de Vega, Royal officers of His Majesty, who are in the said port for the despatch of the squadron which his Excellency sends to the Strait of Magellan. I, Albaro Ruiz de Navamuel, Secretary to the said Royal Audience and to the Government of these realms, have notified these Instructions to the Captain Pedro Sarmiento, Superior Captain of the said squadron, to Juan de Villalobos Admiral, to Hernando Lomero, chief Pilot, to Hernan Alonso and Anton Pablos, Pilots of the said squadron, and it was read word for word as it is written. By order of the Licentiate Recalde, the said Captain-Superior, Admiral, and Pilots swore by God our Lord, and by the sign of the Cross, in the prescribed form, that they would serve his Majesty in the said voyage and discovery on board the two ships of the squadron which are entrusted to them, with all fidelity as good and loyal vassals, and that, in the said voyage and discovery, they will observe the said Instructions as they are bound to do, and as his Excellency commands, as to which I give my faith.

"Albaro Ruiz de Navamuel."

Immediately afterwards, by order of the Viceroy, the Captain-Superior, Admiral, and Pilots, discussed before the above named, the place and position where they were to wait, and to proceed to seek and find each other, if by any accident or by stress of weather one ship should part company from the other. They agreed that in the mouth of the Strait, on the side of the South Sea to the west,

[1] A cousin of the Viceroy Count of Nieva 1560-64. It was in consequence of an intrigue with the sister-in-law of Don Francisco Manrique de Lara that the Viceroy was put to death in the street at midnight by order of the jealous husband Rodrigo Manrique de Lara. The affair was hushed up.

they should go to seek and wait. As it was now late at night, nothing more was done, nor could we embark for that reason, and also for want of some of the people who had not yet come down from the city.

On the next day, being Sunday, the 11th of October, the Captain-Superior and officers, and many others, confessed and took the sacrament. Afterwards, the Captain-Superior and Admiral did homage, and solemnly pledged their fidelity to the service of your Majesty, in the hands of the Factor, Don Francisco Manrique de Lara, and before the Secretary, Albaro Ruiz de Navamuel. Then the Captain Major took the banner, and went on board with it at two in the afternoon of the said day; and after him all the rest of the people embarked, who were engaged to go in his company on this voyage. In order that the Admiral Chief Pilot, and crew of the *Almiranta* might know what they had to do so as to proceed in company, and where they would find us if we were separated, and for other reasons, I issued the following Orders and Instructions:—

"Orders of the Captain-Superior, Pedro Sarmiento, for the Admiral, Juan de Villalobos, and the Crew of the Ship 'Almiranta'.

"I, the Captain Pedro Sarmiento, Captain-Superior of the squadron of his Majesty for the discovery of the Strait of Magellan, bearing in mind that one of the things which the most excellent Lord Don Francisco de Toledo, Viceroy, Governor, and Captain-General of these realms and provinces of Peru gave in charge to me and to the Admiral of the said squadron in his Instructions is that we should keep together and in company, and that the *Almiranta* should show her lanthorn so as not to separate or go apart, seeing that this is of great importance to the service of God our Lord and of his Majesty, as well for the said discovery and the good success of the voyage, as that, if God our Lord should be served by our falling in with this squadron under Captain Francisco, the English pirate, with His grace and favour, we should be able to encounter and take him. Also in the meet-

ing that his Excellency caused to be held before the illustrious Lords the Licentiate Recalde, Judge of the Royal Audience in the city of the Kings, and the Royal officers of his Majesty, by me and by the pilots of the said squadron, it was agreed and determined that if, by an accident, or by stress of weather, the two ships should part company, which is to be prevented by all possible means, the one ship is to wait for the other at the mouth of the Strait for fifteen days, and both are to make the best of their way to the said entrance.

"I, therefore, in order that the above instructions may be carried out, command and charge the Admiral of the said squadron, who goes in the *Almiranta*, named *San Francisco*, and Hernando Lomero, the Pilot of the said ship, and Chief-Pilot of the said squadron, that if, by reason of some storm or bad weather, they should be driven from company with the *Capitana*, on board of which I go, they are to continue their voyage by shaping a course for the mouth of the said Strait of Magellan, by the route along which God may carry them, obeying and complying with what his Excellency has ordered in his instructions. Having arrived at the mouth of the said Strait, which opens on this South Sea, they are to watch and wait in the said mouth for me and for the *Capitana*, for the said fifteen days, keeping a look out for signals, and taking care to send the boat, in the day time, to examine the gulf and the Strait, so as to find me. For it may be that the said *Almiranta* may not be able to see the *Capitana*, being at sea outside. The same orders apply to me, if I should arrive first at the entrance to the said Strait. If, by chance, the ship should not arrive within the fifteen days, and that space of time being passed, they are to cut great crosses on the trees, and raise others on the rocks, and within the Strait, at such points as the other of the two ships will have to pass. They are to make buoys of light poles with marks, and on them they are to nail crosses, with written reports of all that has happened, and of what is intended to be done, with the route and course it is determined to take in conformity with the instructions of his Excellency, and with the information that shall have become known, in order that the people of one ship may profit by the knowledge acquired by the people of the other.

"I. *Item.*—I order the said Admiral, Juan de Villalobos, that he shall enforce, among the people of the *Almiranta*,

strict Christian and military discipline, and that he shall do his best to prohibit and prevent the use of oaths and blasphemies by which our Lord God is offended; that he shall cause prayers to be said morning and evening beseeching our Lord to guide us, and to grant good success to the business so conducive to His service.

"II. *Item.*—He is to prohibit gambling, especially for arms and clothes, assuring all that he who wins arms and clothes does not win that which he can take, for in that case soldiers would be left naked and disarmed, and would not be able to do their work, going in great dishonour and contempt, and endangering their lives from the cold and from other hardships.

"III. *Item.*—Those on board the said *Almiranta* shall avoid contentions and disputes, that they may continue in concord, as friends of one nation. If, by chance, the contrary should happen, which God forbid, the punishment according to military law is to be proceeded with briefly and summarily as the case may require, without questions nor reply beyond what is necessary for the proper verification of the circumstances. If it should happen that the infliction of punishment is necessary, it is better to chastise with the sword than with hard words, because from the former course amendment and much good follows, and the men feel less aggrieved.

"IV. *Item.*—Every night before dark, as well as in the morning, when it is possible to come nearer, the *Almiranta* is to come within hail of the *Capitana*, and the *Capitana* will do the same when it is needful to communicate the name of the saint who is to be had in memory for their information.

"V. *Item.*—If the *Almiranta* is in need of assistance, she is to fire a gun, and if the help is needed for any persons she is to fire two guns; and the same will be done by me, that she may give me help, if necessary.

"VI. *Item.*—They shall always follow the lanthorn by night, and the banner of the *Capitana* by day. If the *Capitana*, on board of which ship I go, alters the course from that which she had previously shaped, she will give notice by showing two lights on that side to which the new course

is directed, in order that the *Almiranta* may better know and follow the said direction.

"VII. *Item.*—All which I charge and order the said Admiral to do and perform in conformity with the Instructions of his Excellency on pain of such penalties as befal those who do to the contrary. Dated in the port and Callao of the city of the Kings the 11th day of October 1579.

"PEDRO SARMIENTO.

"Before me, JUAN DE ESQUIVEL, Royal Notary.

"THE PEOPLE OF THE SQUADRON."

There embarked on board the *Capitana :—*

The Superior Captain and General of the Squadron—Pedro Sarmiento.

Vicar and Preacher of the Fleet—Father Friar Antonio Guadramiro, *of the Order of the blessed St. Francis*, a venerable person who had also been in the voyage to Panama on a similar service for his Majesty.

The Ensign—Juan Gutierrez de Guevara.[1]

Pilots of the "Capitana"—Anton Pablos, Hernando Alonso.[2]

Purser in charge of provisions—Juan de Sagasti.[3]

Royal Notary—Juan de Esquivel.

Boatswain—Pedro de Hojeda.

The names of these are given because they were officers, who, with the sailors and soldiers, made fifty-four men on board the *Capitana.* On board the *Almiranta* there embarked :—

The Admiral—Juan de Villalobos.

Vicar and Preacher—Father Fray Christoval de Merida (*Franciscan*).

Chief Pilot and Pilot of the ship—Hernando Lamero.

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[1] Executed by Sarmiento for treason, towards the end of the voyage.

[2] Sent back to Peru with despatches, from the Cape Verde Islands.

[3] Disrated in the Gulf of Trinidad, and beached at the Cape Verde Islands.

Sergeant-Major—Pascual Suarez.
Notary—Francisco de Trexo.
Boatswain—Guillermo.

With these, and the soldiers and sailors, there were fifty-four persons more or less ; and altogether the expedition numbered 108 souls in the two ships, besides a few servants.[1]

Each ship carried two pieces of artillery of medium size, and 40 arquebuses, with powder, lead, lard, pikes, leather morions, and cotton and blanket for "*escaupiles*",[2] which are a kind of breastplates made as armour to protect the body. All these things were supplied from the royal arsenal.

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[1] Indians and half-castes.

[2] Armour of quilted cotton stuffed with cotton-wool, to keep off arrows. This armour was in use by the Aztecs before the conquest of Mexico.

II.

The Voyage from Callao to the Gulf of Trinidad.

THESE provisions and arrangements having been made we set sail and departed from the port of Callao, which is in 12°25′,[1] on the 11th of October 1579, at 4 o'clock in the afternoon, in the name of the most holy Trinity, three persons and one only God, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. That same night we came to off the island of the port,[2] which is two leagues to the west of Callao. We anchored there because it was necessary to make the *Capitana* secure, and to finish putting her in order. For there had been neglect in stowing her ballast, and she could not carry her sails. That night the crews had no sleep, because all were at work, some bringing ballast from the island, others finishing the setting up of shrouds and reeving of running rigging, which there was no time to complete in port. On Monday, being the morning of the 12th, with a fair northerly breeze, we left the island, and shaped a southerly course, passing between the island and the point of the port, which has very seldom been done.[3] Beginning by standing out to sea, we then tacked and stood in towards the land. On this tack we sailed under a Morro called Solar,[4] in the valley of Surco, two leagues from the island, and three from Callao.

On Tuesday the thirteenth of October, when we began to stand out to sea, we presently found that the bows of the *Capitana* were opening in many parts, owing to several

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[1] 12° 3′ 45″ S. 77° 6′ 10″ W. of Greenwich.

[2] San Lorenzo.

[3] The Boqueron Passage.

[4] The *Morro Solar*, above Chorrillos.

seams not having been caulked. The haste in despatching the expedition did not give time for the overseers to see to everything. By reason of this defect, large quantities of water were shipped, coming aft as far as the main mast, where it was up to our knees. The sailors suffered much from the fatigue of continually working the pumps, and from the work of throwing gear overboard to lighten the ship. The danger from the state of the bows was such that any press of sail would have opened them altogether: and the gripe streaks[1] was gaping, while all the bows and stem were without fastenings. In order not to return to Lima, great efforts were made to reach Pisco, about 30 leagues to the south, to effect repairs. With the help of God we entered the port of Pisco[2] on the 17th of October, and presently the crew was set to work. Some went on shore to finish the sails, others were told off to the rigging, and carpenters and caulkers were employed to strengthen and repair the bows. This work was well done, and they were properly fortified. Four sailors were taken on board here, receiving the same wages as had been paid to the others at Lima. One was a caulker who received the advantage of a wage and a half, amounting to 37 dollars a month. I sent to Paraca for a boat load of salt, a distance of two leagues. In this port we took some provisions on board in which we were deficient. Pedro Sarmiento paid for many of these things himself, and for others on credit. At the request of officers and men two hundred jars of the wine of the country were purchased, at $4\frac{1}{2}$ dollars, amounting altogether to 900 dollars. These were divided between the two ships, a hundred for the *Capitana* and a hundred for the *Almiranta*, and in each ship they were equally divided among the men. All together,

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[1] *Corbaton de la gorja.* This is the timber next to the gripe, which connects the stem with the keel, or perhaps the garboard streak.

[2] 13° 44′ S.

and each man for himself, undertook to pay for it, and gave bills to the owners to enable them to recover the money at Lima from their pay.

Having executed the repairs we made sail, with renewed joy, on Wednesday,[1] the 21st of October, at one in the afternoon, and all that day we were beating out of the bay, which is large, without having enough wind to enable us to make headway. On Thursday there was a calm during the whole day, and night came on when we were off the island of Sangallan, which is in 14° S.[2] Two hours after dark a breeze sprang up from the S.W., and we put to sea, continuing all night until noon on Friday, when we had made 12 leagues by dead reckoning. From noon of Friday the 23rd until night we steered S.W. 6 leagues. On this day the arms and ammunition were served out, and all the following night we steered S.W., a little southerly, making 8 leagues by estimation. Saturday the course was S.W. 4 leagues, and another 6 leagues until dark, by dead reckoning.

On this day Pedro Sarmiento ordered the Admiral Juan de Villalobos not to pass ahead of the *Capitana*, but to follow the lanthorn by night, and the flag by day, on pain of displeasure, for such were the orders for the service of his Majesty. He had clearly begun to show a desire to part company with the *Capitana*, in defiance of the orders of the Viceroy and of his superior officer.

During the next night until Sunday morning there was a fresh wind, the course being from S.W. to S.S.W., and distance 10 leagues. At noon on Sunday, October 25th, I took the altitude in 16° 55′ S., 60 leagues from Pisco and 70 from Ocoña. From Sunday at noon until night the course was S.W. 6 leagues, and until Monday morning S.S.W. 10 leagues. The wind then fell, and her head was all round the compass. On this day, at noon, I took the

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[1] Should be Tuesday.

[2] 13° 5′ S.

altitude in 17° 55′, 87 leagues from Pisco, with Tambo 107 leagues to the east. This day the weather was clear. Hitherto it had been very thick and hazy. At this time the weather is here moderate, more inclined to heat than cold, the winds blowing from S.E., generally light, with a smooth sea and clear sky.

From Monday until Tuesday, at noon, the course was S.W. and S.S.W., the wind light and veering about from S.E. to S.S.E. We shaped a course S.W., because this day we came up with the *Almiranta*. We made 15 leagues, and at eight in the morning we had the first shower of rain from the S.S.E., which left us with a fresh breeze, and before it we steered S.W. After the shower the wind returned to E.S.E., leaving us to steer S.S.W. These showers consist of very small drizzling rain, and bring a fresh breeze; the temperature being rather warm than cold, but very pleasant; sky, sea, and wind agreeable. This day the altitude was taken. Pedro Sarmiento gave 19° 22′ as the result, Anton Pablos 19° 50′, Hernando Alonso 19° 5′; so that we had gone, since Monday, 28 leagues. The waters go with the wind in our favour to the south. I found myself this day with the river Juan Diaz 140 leagues to the east.[1] In this sea we saw few fish, and some white gannets. To-day I asked the pilot of the *Almiranta* for his position, and he replied that he had not taken the sun, having had an opportunity of doing so. Pedro Sarmiento[2] reprehended him for his neglect, and ordered him never to omit observing the sun every day when the weather was sufficiently clear.

From Tuesday to Wednesday, the 28th of October, at noon, our course was S.W., a little S., 30 leagues. We took the altitude this day in 21°, and observed that the current

[1] Then follows: "Abre en esta region el cielo de las diez del dia adelante." I cannot see the meaning of this sentence.

[2] Sarmiento generally writes in the third, but sometimes in the first person.

ran S.W. in our favour. This day we returned special thanks to our Lord God for the fine weather we had experienced, and offered certain alms to the house of our Lady of "La Rabida" in Spain. On every feast day the Vicar gave us a sermon, which consoled us much by its good doctrine. We found ourselves this day 160 leagues from Pisagua,[1] 154 leagues from Pisco, and 168 leagues from Lima.

From Wednesday until Thursday, the 29th of October, with a S.E. wind blowing fresh, we steered S.W., a little S. and S.S.W. roughly, making an average of S.W. by S. about 30 leagues. From Thursday at noon until night for six hours S.W. to S., the rest of the night it was blowing so hard that we had to take in the headsails, and with the mainsail at half-mast ran for 12 leagues S.W. to S.S.W. In the morning of Friday the wind blew still harder, and we took off the bonnet of the foresail, steering S.W. until noon of Friday the 30th, and making good 10 leagues. From Friday to Saturday at noon, S.W. to S. and S.S.W. 20 leagues.

From Saturday until noon of Sunday, the 1st of November, half the time the course was S.W. by S., and the other half S.S.W. 30 leagues. This day I took the altitude in about 26° 20′; and adding up our runs since the 28th, when we were in 21°, they amount to $114\frac{2}{3}$ leagues. The difference between the observed position and the dead reckonings was $5\frac{1}{3}$ leagues. This day we found ourselves 180 leagues east from Copayapo,[2] and 150 leagues west of the meridian of Lima; that city being distant 285 leagues N.E. We passed 18 leagues west of the "Desventuradas' islands, which are in 25° 20′. In the year 1574, when the pilot Juan Fernandez was on a voyage to Chile, he discovered them by accident a second time, for they had not

[1] 19° 27′ S.

[2] 27° 20′ S.

been seen since Magellen discovered them in 1520.[1] They are now called San Felix and San Ambrosio. They are small, uninhabited, and without water. They are frequented by many birds and seals, and there are quantities of fish.

The navigators in these parts do not place reliance on the dials[2] made in Spain, France, Flanders, and parts further north for fixing the sun with the ordinary astrolabe, neither in the compass cards, because when you shall mark the north point, you will think that it is noon, but it will already have passed more than a point. Therefore you should take notice that when you would take the sun you should wait with astrolabe in hand, until you see it rise by the lower sight, which is below the upper part; and this is the most perfect and exact dial for all parts for the meridian of altitude.[3] The reason is that the compasses have

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[1] Argensola also says that San Felix and San Ambrosio were discovered by the pilot Juan Fernandez in 1574, after having been seen by Magellan in 1520. Sarmiento and Argensola are quite wrong in supposing that San Ambrosio and San Felix were the *Desventuradas* of Magellan. On Jan. 24th, 1521, Magellan discovered a small uninhabited island, which he named San Pablo, according to the pilot Alvo, in 16° 15′ S. On Feb. 4th he came to another small island, similar in all respects to the former, named *Tiburon*. The two collectively, although 200 leagues apart, were named *Las Desventuradas*. They cannot now be identified. The latest guess, made by Meiniche, and accepted by Peschel, is that *S. Pablo* is *Puka-puka* in the *Tuamotu* Archipelago (lat. 14° 45′ S., long. 138° 48′ W.), and that *Tiburon* is *Flint Island* in the *Manihiki* group (lat. 11° 20′ S. long. 151° 48′ W.); but there are no sufficient data in the accounts of the voyage, and this is little more than a guess.

[2] *Relox*. He probably refers to the *Relox Solar* which was placed on the meridian by being suspended over the north and south line of the compass, while the altitude was observed by means of sight vanes when the sun appeared in a line with them.

[3] This instruction, for taking the meridian altitude, to wait until the sun has reached its greatest altitude, independent of compass bearing, is quite accurate.

the needles changed nearly a point from the fleur-de-lys, having respect to those which make to north-east or north-west. It is desirable that there should be one rule for all the world, for they would thus be certain, and not, as some teach it, more or less so. They say that in the meridian of Corvo it neither turns to north-east nor north-west; but the truth is that this rule is false, according to the experience I have acquired in many very different parts of the world—east, west, north and south—over more than 180 degrees of longitude and more than 100 degrees of latitude, having crossed the equator at different points many times. The dials which are not made general are only correct for that altitude for which they are made, or a little more or less, although some think that all dials serve well at noon. Both are very notable and dangerous errors, and it is desirable that they should be made known and corrected. But if the needles should be corrected now the new error would be greater than the former one, for now the lands are laid down according to these needles with their directions changed; so that, in seeking for the coast, these needles must necessarily be used; for if it is sought to find the coasts with good and correct needles they will not be found. Consequently it would be necessary to lay down the coasts afresh; and this error of uncertainty must be endured to avoid a greater one, until order is taken to make the corrections.[1]

From Sunday to noon on Monday, the 2nd of November, we steered S.S.W. 42 leagues. I, Anton Pablos, and Hernando Alonso took the sun this day in 28° 37′, with

[1] In this passage Sarmiento does not seem to deny that there is variation of the compass, but rather suggests that all charts should be drawn on the true meridian, as they now are. He refers to a system of shifting the north point on the compass card to allow for variation, and rightly states that the dial will only then be correct in the latitude for which such correction was made, which is quite right.

Guasco distant 178 leagues, Lima 325 N.E. From Monday to noon of Tuesday, the 3rd of November, we steered S.W. 26 leagues. I took the sun in 29° 40′, with the river of Coquimbo[1] 190 leagues, and Lima 355. From Tuesday to noon on Wednesday, the 4th of November, our course was S.W. to S.S.W. 24 leagues. On this Tuesday the *Capitana* came down with sheets eased off on the *Almiranta*, and she did the same on Wednesday, because the *Almiranta* proceeded very carelessly, falling off to leeward, and taking no pains to keep station according to orders. At last we overtook her, suspecting that she was running away or trying to part company. But it was not then desirable to act with severity, and on coming up with her, Pedro Sarmiento asked the chief pilot for his position. He replied that the day before, which was Tuesday, he had made it 29° 15′. This day it began to blow from the N.E., and we steered S.W. The Captain-Superior consulted with the pilots respecting the route they should take, for it was now blowing fresh. Lamero, of the *Almiranta*, advised a south course because thus the high latitudes would be reached more quickly; not considering that in this way land would not be reached in 70°. Pedro Sarmiento, Anton Pablos, and Hernando Alonso agreed that the course should be S.S.E., for even then the land would with difficulty be reached in 45° or 50°, even with good navigation. To steer a south course would be to lose the summer and our lives, and not to perform the service on which we were sent. This night, therefore, we steered a quarter east of south until noon on Thursday: and as we had made more easting up to the previous noon, I steered south. This day I took the altitude in 33° 11′, and found that in the last 24 hours we had run 62 leagues, being 410 leagues from Lima N.N.E.

[1] 29° 53′ S.

This was a fine day, with little wind and a clear sky, and we kept on to the east of south. We took the altitude this day in 30° 20′.

From Thursday to Friday we kept on with a course east of south, and took the altitude in 33° 42′. We made little progress as it was calm, Anton Pablos' result was 33° 54 and Hernando Alonso's 33° 40′, 10 leagues; with the river Maypu at 170 leagues, and Lima at 418 leagues distance, being 140 from the Lima meridian. For the last day it was more than usually warm and calm, so that we made little progress.

From Friday to Saturday, the 7th of November, the course was south 14 leagues. This day I took the altitude in 34° 30′; with Cobas 150 leagues, and Lima 440 by our track, but taking a line N.E. to the point where we stopped at the island of Lima it would be 420 leagues. In these days there were calms and great heat until noon; but on Saturday, a little before noon, it began to blow from the N.E., and we proceeded before it. From Saturday to Sunday, the 8th of November, at noon, for eighteen hours, our course was S. by E. 25 leagues, and for six hours S.S.E., 6 leagues by dead reckoning. This day the sun was not taken. At seven in the morning the N.E. wind died away, and showers came from the S.W., which lasted for more than two hours, followed by a wind which took us S.W. and S.E., and we went again to east of south. After an hour a breeze came from N.E., and we proceeded on the same course. This day we communicated with the *Almiranta*, and the Chief Pilot, Hernando Lamero, said that we should steer south. Pedro Sarmiento answered that he should not alter his decision. To steer south would be to make a landfall in too high a latitude for the service they had to perform. The *Capitana* would do that which was for the service of our Lord God and his Majesty, and he, with the *Almiranta*, was to keep station, following the

banner of the *Capitana* by day and the lanthorn by night. Lamero replied that we should come to a land that was undiscovered, and Pedro Sarmiento said that he would not go anywhere but to do what the Viceroy, in the name of his Majesty, had ordered, which was to discover the Strait of Magellan, and to take as much advantage of the time as possible, so as not to lose the summer season. If we passed to a higher latitude than the mouth of the strait is in, we should have to make northing which we could not do so as to reach the strait until the south winds blew, which is not until the end of April, and then it would be winter, and the year would be lost, when by good fortune we might avoid this. Besides we should thus have to go over the ground twice, and run the risk of more pirates arriving and settling in the strait, preventing us from passing to give notice to his Majesty in Spain, and also from returning to Peru to inform the Viceroy. Such events would be most harmful and pernicious. This was so evident that, by a S.E. and S.S.E. course, I desired to discover land to the north of the strait, in a position convenient for taking advantage of the north winds at a time when there were no others. I said that this was my belief and intention, as well as that of the other pilots of the *Capitana*, Hernando Alonso and Anton Pablos, the latter an expert pilot of much credit in the navigation of these coasts, especially Chile. But Hernando Lamero persevered in his erroneous view, so the Captain-Superior ordered him to follow the *Capitana* by day and night, on pain of being deprived of his appointment, and of one being sent to the *Almiranta* who would obey orders. He ordered the Admiral to keep station, and not to lose sight of the *Capitana* by day or night, on pain of death.

This was the reason that the *Almiranta* did not part company, although those on board intended to do so that night, according to the testimony of the Father Vicar,

Friar Antonio Guadramiro, who heard it from Friar Christoval de Merida, his opposite number on board the *Almiranta.* He said that the *Almiranta* would have gone that next night, if Pedro Sarmiento had not imposed the penalty, for to that effect the pilot and others had conversed.

From Sunday to Monday, the 8th of November, at noon, with a wind from N. to N.E., we steered to the east of south. I took the altitude in 37° 56′, which made 58 leagues since I took the observation on Saturday, with the port of Carnaro, at a distance of 100 leagues, and Lima 500 leagues S.S.W.; Hernando Alonso's result was 37° 45′. From Monday to Tuesday, the 10th, at noon, we steered the same course, and at dawn of Tuesday it blew so hard from the north that we took in the mizen and the top-sails, hauled down the bonnets, and proceeded under the courses at half-mast. As we were running, such great masses of water were shipped by the *Capitana* that, if it had not been for the deck, we should have run great risk of foundering, for in addition to the heavy seas, much water got in through the planks, which were very thin. We reckoned the distance run at 30 leagues. It rained so hard that the sailors had to change their clothes three or four times. All this day, and particularly at night, the *Almiranta*, without keeping station, was ahead in defiance of orders, and of the orders of the Viceroy, although a light was shown, and other signals were made by day and night. But on coming up with her, I dissembled, because it was more convenient for the service of his Majesty that the work should be done, than that his conduct should be noticed.

From Tuesday to Wednesday, the 11th of November, at noon, we ran before a northerly gale, which obliged us to proceed without top-sails and bonnets,[1] and with the

[1] Additional sails laced to the leeches of the courses, and serving the purpose of lower studding sails.

courses lowered to half-mast. As the ship rolled so heavily that the bows and sides were under water, they lowered the top-masts. In doing so, the fore top-mast of the *Capitana* was carried away. From Monday at noon to Wednesday at noon we made 82 leagues. I took the altitude by three astrolabes in 42° 30′. Anton Pablos had the same result, and Hernando Alonso just 43°. We found ourselves this day 573 leagues from Lima, with the land which is between Osorno and Chiloe at a distance of 70 leagues.

From Wednesday at noon until night it blew hard from the north, veering to N.W. and W.N.W., and such was its fury that we were obliged to take in the main sail, and to make preventer back stays for the masts, and false nettings for the rigging. We continued to run before the wind under the fore sail, lowered almost to the deck, as ships should be handled to fly from the tempests of sea and wind. In these six hours, until dark, we made 8 leagues S.E., and, during the night, 12 leagues S.E. by S. On Thursday morning the wind changed to S.W., and we made 8 leagues S.E. In the forenoon we got up the main topmast, and set the mainsail, and mizen, which we took in at two in the afternoon, because the ship laboured under them. From Wednesday to Thursday at noon, we made 30 leagues by dead reckoning on the same course.

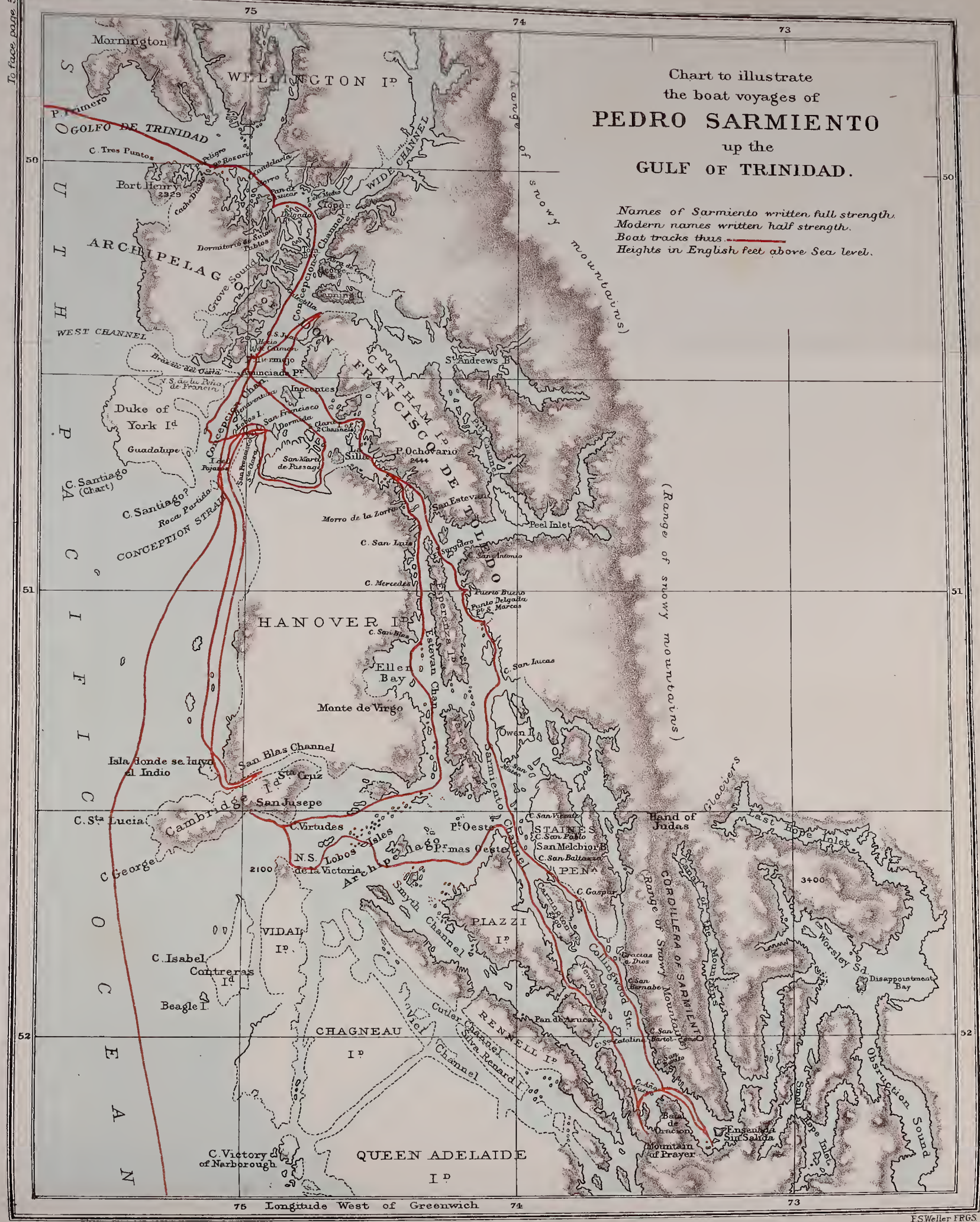
From Thursday, at noon, with S.W. and S.S.W. winds, we steered S.E. and S.S.E., making 6 leagues in 6 hours; and all night S.E. by S., 14 leagues, and until Friday, at noon, S. by E., 8 leagues. On that day we had another storm, with much sea, and the wind west. It was very cold. We ran east of south, with the courses lowered near the deck,[1] sailing on a bowline, because we found ourselves near the land, and we had need of caution.

[1] "Con medias tiestas."

From Friday to Saturday, the 14th of November, we made 23 leagues, 6 on a S.E. course, and the rest S.S.E. It began to be very cold, and the drops of water that fell were round and large like very cold hail. This night the wind moderated a little. It is noteworthy that in this place, in leaving the north, the wind presently shifted to the west, and blew with great fury, raising a high sea. Thence it veered to the S.W. with much drizzling rain, going down at night, and blowing cold and hard by day. During three days we had not seen the sun at a time when we could take it. By our dead reckoning we made ourselves to-day in about 46°.

From Saturday to Sunday, the 15th, we steered S.E., 6 leagues, and all night south, 15 leagues; and until noon the same course, 8 leagues by dead reckoning. At noon I took the sun in 48°; so that since Wednesday, the 11th, we had made 115 leagues on a course E.S.E. Lima 690 leagues. From Sunday to Monday, the 16th of November, we had such a gale from S.W. to W.S.W., that we were obliged to run almost under bare poles; and at night, as we were near the land, we did not show more than two reefs of the courses. We steered S.E., S.S.E., and south 15 leagues.

From Monday to Tuesday, the 17th of November, it blew hard from W. and S.W., so that we went under little sail. At night, as the General considered they were near land, in agreement with the opinions of the pilots on board the *Capitana*, he warned the pilot of the *Almiranta* that he should steer S.S.E. with only the foresail, and that from midnight onwards we should steer S.E. This was done.



F.S.Weller F.R.G.S.

III.

Arrival in the Gulf of Trinidad.

At dawn of Tuesday, the 17th of November 1579, in the name of the most Holy Trinity, we came in sight of high land at a distance of ten leagues to the S.E. We made directly for it, to examine it and fix its position, and at noon, being near the land, we took the altitude in 49° 30′, the result of Hernando Alonso's observation being 49° 9′. In coming near the land we discovered a great bay or opening which went far into the land towards the snowy mountains. On the southern side there was high land, ending in a mountain with three peaks. Pedro Sarmiento named this opening "the Gulf of the Most Holy Trinity", and the high land with the mountain of three peaks was named the "Cabo de Tres Puntos". This land is bare, and the land near the sea shore is much broken, with many rocks above water, and the high land has many white, grey, and black patches. To the north of this "Cabo de Tres Puntos", at a distance of six leagues, is the land on the other side of the entrance to the gulf, consisting of a high-rounded bluff, the land falling away to a plain inland to the north, with many islets off the shore. This land looks like an island from outside. It was named "Cabo Primero".[1] It has this appearance approaching from the N.E.

The land to the south, which is the "Cabo de Tres Puntos", seen from the sea, forms a peak.[2]

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[1] A translation from the beginning of the chapter is given in the *Voyage of the Adventure and Beagle*, i, p. 159; but the month is given as March instead of November.

[2] *Corno vernal.*

The mouth or entrance of this "Gulf of the Most Holy Trinity" is six leagues across from the "Cabo Primero" to the "Cabo de Tres Puntos", and the coast of the open sea, runs north and south a quarter to N.E. and S.W., so far as we could make out. The channel of this Trinity Gulf runs N.W. and S.E., so far as we could determine at first sight. "Cabo Primero" and "Cabo de Tres Puntos" bear north and south of each other, tending slightly to N.E. and S.W.[1]

Being now near the land, the *Capitana* and *Almiranta* closed, and consulted over what should be done. It was unanimously resolved to enter into this bay to examine the land. The General, seeing that they were in a good position for discovering the Strait, and that this bay, according to his sketch which he had with him, might lead to the sea by another opening near the Strait, gave orders for the squadron to make for it. Thus we entered at two in the afternoon, with the lead going. Although we went inside the channel for three or four leagues, we did not find bottom with many fathoms until we went near the land, when we sounded in thirty fathoms. Here we anchored the first time, five leagues within the bay; and smartly as we let go the anchor it took the ground in many more fathoms than those we had found by sounding, and the bottom was dirty. The *Almiranta* anchored near the shore, and presently drifted out without finding bottom, for it is there rocky, and she therefore made sail. The *Capitana* did the same for a similar reason. As it was night, the coast was unknown, and the weather bad, we again stood in for the

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[1] The *Alert* made out that across the entrance of Trinidad Channel the depth was 30 fathoms, while a mile inside it increased to 200 and 300 fathoms. This showed the existence of a sort of bar, representing the terminal moraine of a huge glacier which originally gouged out the channel.—*Coppinger*, p. 66.

shore where we had anchored the first time, and, sounding rather closer in shore than before, we anchored in twenty fathoms. All the bottom of this anchorage is rocky, and the shore steep and rocky. Soon afterwards the *Almiranta* anchored more in shore.

Next day, being Wednesday, the 18th of November, Pedro Sarmiento, not considering that this port was good or safe, because it is exposed from the north and north-east, which are the most harmful quarters here, got into a boat with Anton Pablos, and went in search of a harbour to the south-east. They went on all day, sounding in the bays and creeks, and found a tolerable port. When they returned to the ships to bring them there the Chief Pilot was not on board, having also gone in search of a port without leaving word in what direction, so they did not shift their berths on that day.

Next day, being Thursday, the weather was bad, and such a gale was blowing from the north that it was impossible to get under weigh, for the ships would have been dashed to pieces on the rocks before they would have had time to make sail; nor could we have gone even if that danger had not existed. Such was the force of the wind and sea that constant watch was kept over the cables, and the blows of the waves broke the stock of an anchor against the rocks at the bottom, and chafed through the stout cable of the other anchor. Thus we were left adrift, and the ship *Capitana* began to drive down on the rocks of the coast, which were little more than a cable from us. Let those who have been in the same predicament judge what we felt. But not for this did the pilots and crew lose heart. On the contrary, with great courage, calling upon God and his most Blessed Mother, they let go another anchor with the utmost diligence, which reached the bottom and held, and the ship swung round. Thus the ship was saved; and undoubtedly it was the miraculous act of the most sacred

Mother of God. In this position we remained during that day and until the following Friday.

The wind and sea did not moderate, and to remain where we were was to risk certain destruction. Yet we could not go to sea, while to cast off the cable was not to be thought of, for we were lost if we did any of these three things. We desired to go from here to the port that had been sounded, as mentioned above. As less dangerous and risky, Pedro Sarmiento sent the pilot, Hernando Alonso, in a boat to sound a passage between an islet and the mainland, to find out whether there was bottom, and whether the ships could venture to pass that way to the port. He went and found five fathoms, and thence he made a signal five times with a white flag he had taken with him, remaining there with the boat, for he could not return. Knowing that this passage was navigable, we determined to pass through it. Therefore in the name of the most sacred Queen of the Angels we cast off the cables by hand, at the same time hoisting the foresail. In an instant the Mother of God carried us through the passage, almost touching the rocks on either side, and we reached the port which had been surveyed, where we anchored, and remained in marvellous tranquility and safety—at least so it then seemed. It was a wonderful thing to see the turns made by the ship among the reefs and windings of that channel, insomuch that a well trained horse could not have done so well. She went like lightning, so that if she had touched anything she must have gone to pieces. We thought it better to run this risk, which gave us some hope of safety, than to remain obstinately and idly in that anchorage, where it was certain, if we took no step, we must all have perished that afternoon, without a man escaping.

As soon as the *Capitana* was anchored, the boat returned from her to the *Almiranta*, and she was piloted by the same passage to this port, where she was anchored closer in

shore, through the signal mercy which God showed in giving us this refuge by the intercession of his most glorious Mother. We named the port "Nuestra Señora del Rosario", and the other "Peligroso", although the sailors called it "Cache[1]-diablo". On the following Sunday, November the 22nd, the General Pedro Sarmiento, with most of the people, went on shore, and when Pedro Sarmiento hoisted a great cross all worshipped it with much devotion, and sang "*Te Deum Laudamus*" in loud voices, on their knees. With great joy they gave thanks to God, knowing the mercies we had all received at His divine hands. This done, the Captain-Superior, Pedro Sarmiento, rose to his feet, and drawing a sword which hung to his belt, he exclaimed, in a loud voice, in the presence of all, that "they were all witnesses how, in the name of the sacred Catholic and royal Majesty of the King, Don Philip our Lord, King of Castille and its dependencies, and in the name of his heirs and successors, he took possession of that land for ever." In testimony of this, and that those present might keep it in memory, he cut trees, branches, and herbs with the sword he held in his hand, and moved stones, with which he made a heap in token of possession. As similar acts of taking possession have been fully recorded, and as the Viceroy particularly ordered that possession should be taken in the places where we landed, Pedro Sarmiento made the following statement before the Notary:

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[1] *Cache* means "a box on the ear". This is the Wolsey Sound of the Admiralty Chart. In the *Alert* a succession of fierce squalls (*williwaws*) from various quarters was experienced in this anchorage, so that the ship kept swinging to and fro, and circling round her anchors. At last one of the cables parted; and the *Alert*, aided by steam, managed to ride out the gale with the other cable. It was not considered to be an anchorage that could be recommended.—*Coppinger*, p. 68.

"First Possession."

"In the name of the most Holy Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, three Persons and one only true God, who is Maker and Creator of all things, without whom no good things can be commenced, made, or preserved; and as the good beginning of whatever thing must be in God and for God; and in his name should be commenced for his honour and glory; in his most holy name be it known to all who may see this present testimony, instrument, and letter of possession how, this day, which is Sunday, the 22nd of November 1579, this royal fleet of the most powerful, most renowned, and most catholic Lord Don Philip, King of Spain and its dependencies, our Lord, having arrived, which sailed from the city of Kings in Peru by order of the most excellent Lord, Don Francisco de Toledo, Viceroy, Governor, and Captain-General of the kingdoms and provinces of Peru, for the discovery of the Strait called Magellan, of which there came as Captain-Superior the General Pedro Sarmiento to this land, now first discovered by the said Captain-Superior. Being anchored in this port, newly named "Nuestra Señora del Rosario", in the bay also newly named "The Most Holy Trinity", and the said General having landed with the greater part of the land and sea forces of the fleet, and the chaplains, he took a cross on shore, which was devoutly worshipped by all the people on their knees, and the chaplains sang the '*Te Deum Laudamus.*' Then, in a loud voice, he said that in the name of his Majesty the King Philip II, our Lord, King of Castille, Leon, and their dependencies, who may God our Lord preserve for many years, with increase of greater states and kingdoms for the service of God, and the well-being and prosperity of his vassals; and in the name of the very powerful Lords the Kings, his heirs and successors in the time to come, as his Captain-Superior and General of this the said fleet, and by virtue of the order and instructions which, in the royal name, the Lord Viceroy of Peru gave him, he took and takes, seized and seizes, possession of this land where he has now landed, and which he discovered, for ever and ever in the said royal name, and in that of the royal crown of Castille and Leon as their own, to whom it really belongs by virtue of the Grant and Bull of the most holy father Alexander VI, Supreme Roman Pontiff, given *motû proprio* to the very high and catholic Lords Don Fernando V,

and Doña Isabel his wife, Kings of Castille and Leon of glorious memory, and to their heirs and successors, being half the world, that is to say, 180 degrees of longitude, as more largely is set forth in the said Bull given at Rome on the 4th of May 1493, in virtue of which these lands fall and are included within the demarcation and meridian of partition of the 180 degrees of longitude belonging to the said royal crown of Castille and Leon, and as being within the line, he takes and took possession of these the said lands and districts, seas, rivers, anchorages, ports, bays, gulfs, and archipelagos of the said port of 'Rosario', where at present this fleet is anchored. Thus he, as depicted, placed and places them in the power and possession and dominion of the said royal crown of Castille and Leon as its own property; as it is. In sign of possession he drew the sword that he wore at his girdle, and with it cut trees, branches, and herbs, and moved stones, and walked over the land and on the shore without any contradiction whatever; desiring that those present should be witnesses, and that I, the undersigned Notary, should give public testimony. Then incontinently taking a great cross on his back, with the troops of the fleet in order of battle, and armed with arquebuses and other weapons, they carried the cross in procession, the monks Friar Antonio Guadramiro, Vicar, and his companion singing a litany, and everyone answering in the responses. The procession being finished, the General planted the cross on a high rock, and made a heap of stones at the foot of it, as a memorial and sign of the possession of all these lands and seas and their bounds, with the continuous and contiguous discoveries; and he gave the name of 'Nuestra Señora del Rosario' to this port. As soon as the cross was set up they worshipped it a second time, and all offered up prayers, beseeching and supplicating our Lord Jesus Christ that he would be served by this act being for his holy service, and that our holy Catholic Faith would be aided and increased by the word of the holy evangel being preached and sown among barbarous nations that, until now, had been astray from the true knowledge and doctrine whereby they may be guarded and delivered from the deceit and dangers of the devil, and from the blindness in which they now live, that their souls may be saved. Then the monks sang in praise of the cross the hymn '*Vexilla Regis*.' Before it, at an altar which had been set up, the Vicar, who was the first to say it

in this land, said mass to the honour and glory of our Lord God Almighty, and for the extirpation of the devil and all idolatry. He preached on this subject, and several confessed and took the sacrament. When the service was over, the General, as a more lasting sign and memorial of possession, caused a great tree to be felled, and from it to be made a large and very lofty cross, on which he put the most holy name of our Lord Jesus Christ—I. N. R. I.—and at the foot of the cross he put PHILIPPUS SECUNDUS REX HISPANIARUM. Of all which I, Juan Desqùíbel, Royal Notary of this fleet, on board the ship *Capitana*, give my faith and true testimony.

"JUAN DESQŪÍBEL, Royal Notary."

After all this, Pedro Sarmiento took the altitude at noon, on shore, with three astrolabes, in 50°. Then the General, the Ensign, the Serjeant-Major, and three soldiers went up to the top of a very rugged mountain, more than two leagues of ascent, which was so rugged and craggy that the rocks cut the soles of their *alpargatas*[1] and shoes like razors, and often we went along the tops of the trees, from branch to branch, like monkeys. We ascended this mountain to get a view of the direction of the channel of this gulf, and also to ascertain whether we were on an island or on main land, for Pedro Sarmiento held it to be an island; also to see whether there was a clear passage by that channel, by which the ships could be taken into the strait, so that it might not be necessary to take them out again into the open sea, where there was such continuous bad weather. Having climbed to the summit, through much labour and the risk of falling over precipices a thousand times, they made out numerous channels and creeks, rivers, and ports, so that it seemed as if all the land we had reached was broken in pieces; and we supposed it to be an archipelago. We counted as many as 85 islands, large and small, and saw that the channel was very large, wide, open,

[1] Shoes made of hemp, much used in the Basque provinces.

and clear, almost making out the channel coming out into the sea near the strait.

As Pedro Sarmiento could not make all this out with certainty, he determined to go with the boat to explore and survey. He could not start on Monday, the 23rd, because there was a gale blowing, and it was the same on Tuesday. On this day there was a consultation between the General and officers of the fleet, and it was resolved that this should be done for the security of the fleet, as well as to find the strait and to select a port known to be safe, whither the ships could be taken and anchored. On this same day Pedro Sarmiento ordered the carpenters to go and cut wood for joists and knees for the *Capitana* and *Almiranta*, and to repair the damage we had received during the recent gales. This was done. On the day of taking possession, and to-day, they found signs of inhabitants, such as foot-steps, darts, oars, and small nets, but no people had been seen up to this time.

IV.

NARRATIVE

OF THE

First Expedition of Discovery made by the General, with the Pilots ANTON PABLOS and HERNANDO LAMERO, in the boat *Nuestra Señora de Guia*, up the Gulf of the MOST HOLY TRINITY.

IN the name of God our Lord, and of his mother St. Mary, our Lady, Pedro Sarmiento set out in the boat of the *Almiranta*, taking with him Anton Pablos, Pilot of the *Capitana*, and Hernando Lamero, Chief Pilot of the *Almiranta*, besides ten armed soldiers with arquebuses, shields, and swords, and provisions for four days. He left the port of "Nuestra Señora del Rosario" on Wednesday, the 25th of November 1579, at ten o'clock, to discover the channels, so as not to put the ships in danger, to find a safe harbour for them, and to discover the strait.

Leaving the reefs of the port of Rosario, we kept on the right-hand side in passing up the gulf, which may be described as follows. From the port of Rosario there is a point, which we called "Candelaria",[1] three-quarters of a league bearing a little north of east, and at half the distance there is a bay which enters into the land in a south-easterly direction. At the entrance there are twenty-three islets, which make two large channels,[2] and although there are others, they are of no importance. From the point of

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[1] The Admiralty Chart has C. Candelaria 5½ miles from Port Rosario.

[2] Lamero Sound, of the chart, with Hernando Island and several islets at the entrance. Lat. 50° S., north end of Hernando Island,

"Candelaria" the coast turns a little south of east for about 500 paces, and at the cape a large port is formed, with the entrance facing north. Here there are twenty fathoms, with a clean bottom, and the port turns to the S.W. quarter. The land is pointed and high, and there is a high hill to the south in front of the point. We named the place "Puerto del Morro". From the point or anchorage of the "Morro" the coast turns E.S.E. for a third of a league to a hill called "Morro Gordo", then S.E. for a sixth of a league, and S.E. by S. two leagues to a peaked mountain called "Pan de Azucar",[1] half way there being an opening to S.S.W.

From the "Pan de Azucar" the coast turns to the south for half a league, as far as a rounded hill, and another bay opens to S.W. It was named the "S.W. Bay".[1] At the entrance it has twenty-two fathoms depth, bottom pebbly. There is anchorage near a round islet on the N.W. side, which is covered with trees. It is necessary to let out three or four fathoms of cable; and at the entrance there is an inlet of smooth sea, where a ship may be secured with four cables, the bows on land. In this place Pedro Sarmiento sent Lamero up a high mountain to examine the channel, and from this height he saw a great number of channels, and of large and small islands. Anton Pablos guided us to the little bay, where, as it was now night, we slept, and called the place "The Dormitory of Anton Pablos." Here possession was taken in the name of his Majesty, and a cross was cut on a tree. We found the lodging places and food of people of the country. From this point the coast turns S.S.E. for a league to a high and bare hill, when the entrance to "S.W. Bay" is on with that of the last bay, N. by E.

We left the little bay on Thursday, the 26th of No-

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[1] On the chart in 50° 4′ 40″ S. Hill above it 880 feet high.

[2] "Ancon del Sudueste" on the chart.

vember, and proceeded to examine the main channel. At half a league east there are some islets, and the channel runs S.E. We sounded in the middle, and got no bottom with 120 fathoms. In the channel between the islands there were 40 fathoms sandy bottom, and quite close to the islets 15 fathoms. The bottom is not clean. To the east, at half a league, still among the islets, there were 15 fathoms, gravel. You may anchor, in case of necessity, off a small islet, which is the one most to the eastward. From the high land there runs a shoal N. and S. Three points of rocks appear above the water, and in the channel, two cables from the reef of rocks, there are four fathoms of water north and south from the reef. The way out is east and west, and in the channel to leeward or to the south, in mid channel, there are twelve fathoms, rocky bottom.

A league to the east, in the middle of the main channel, there is an islet which we called the island of "En-medio".[1] It is in line with the entrance to the gulf of Trinidad, which appears clearly from here N.W. by W. This islet has a bank above water a cable's length S.W., and there are eight fathoms between it and the island. In passing between them a vessel should keep nearer the islet than the bank.

From this bank there runs a shoal north and south, covered with weed, and under shelter of the isle, a cable's length N.W., there are fifteen fathoms, grey sand, and black and white mud.

From this island of "En-medio" the main land on the right is distant three quarters of a league, S.S.W. to a point "Delgado", so named because it was so.[2] Having reached this point, we closed in the mouth by which we had entered from the open sea, and discovered another gulf,

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[1] Lat. 50° 5′ 30″. Called Medio Island on the chart.

[2] "Delgado" is thin, fine.

being a continuation of the main channel, running S.E., and in it we discovered a row of islands running N.W. by W. From point "Delgado" to another point the bearing is N.E. by N. one league.

In this part there is a round island in the middle of the channel, and west of it are four more. In the centre of the channel there are forty fathoms, pebbles, gravel, and shells. Here we saw birds in flocks, which up to this time we had not seen. Arrived at the reefs, there were twenty-four fathoms gravel. In this distance there are two high hills, and to the south-east of the southernmost a small bay or creek. Here the shore can be approached without fear, because there is nothing but what can be seen. I sounded, the first time, in ten fathoms at half a cable from the shore, and a cable further on there were thirty fathoms S.S.E. from the high hill: bottom pebbly. Made fast to the shore, as the depth increased rapidly.

Beyond this point there is another three leagues to the S.W. by W. It was named "Punta del Brazo-Ancho",[1] and to clear it a W.S.W. course should be steered. In this distance there are two large mouths of channels, and although there are soundings at fifty, thirty, and twenty fathoms, the bottom is foul. To the south of the "Punta del Brazo-Ancho", and near it, there are fifteen fathoms with a good bottom, and a cable and a half further on thirty-four fathoms: pebbles. It is an anchorage, although rocky, of great depth.

From the "Punta del Brazo-Ancho" another point was in sight which we named "Galeotilla",[2] from its shape, bearing S.W. by S. four leagues. From the "Galeotilla" point there is another in sight, which we called "Hocico de

[1] In 50° 8′ 50″ on the chart.
[2] Not on the chart.

Caiman",[1] three leagues on the same bearing. A league from "Hocico de Caiman" to the S.W. there is good anchoring ground in twelve fathoms: sand. To the north of it there is a port with fair bottom at fourteen, twelve, eight, and seven fathoms. This port has a reef near the land, on which the sea breaks. Beyond "Hocico de Caiman" we discovered another point, half a league S.W., and to the N.W. of it there is a port which has a beach of brown sand, good sandy bottom, and a depth of seven, eight, and nine fathoms. Its entrance is from the N.E., between a hilly islet and the mainland on the right hand, by four fathoms of shallow sea. But a large ship should not go in that way, because the channel is narrow, and a shoal extends far out from the hilly islet. Within, it is sheltered from all winds. Here we passed the night of Friday, the 27th of November. We gave it the name of "Puerto Bermejo de la Concepcion de Nuestra Señora". From this port appeared a bit of the open sea.

On the same afternoon that we landed the captain took possession, for your Majesty, your heirs and successors, and placed a high cross on a tree. Presently he went inland with the pilot Lamero and two soldiers, and ascended a high hill to examine the channel and make out the routes in all directions, and the bays ahead, for he did this as often as it was possible, which was a great advantage to us for our progress onwards, and for an accurate description of the country. From this height Pedro Sarmiento could make out the whole of the main or, as he called it, the Mother Channel, which took a turn to the S.W. for six leagues, where it opened on the main sea. This we saw and considered certain, and it gave us joy, for we had feared greatly that we were embayed; and on this subject there had been some difference amongst dull people on

[1] On the chart in 50° 25′ S.

board the *Almiranta*. Another arm took a turn to the W.N.W., which seemed to divide the land where we were.[1]

Pedro Sarmiento alone certified that it was the sea that appeared, for neither the pilot nor the men were sure about it. Having noted everything, we returned to the sleeping place, wet through and tired by the bit of forest, which was very dense, that we had to pass both going and coming. On this beach we found many fresh footsteps of people, and two daggers or harpoons of bone, with their prey on the points. This port has a large spring of very good water which here falls into the sea. The place for coming in and going out for ships is not that already mentioned, but to the east. Here there is a channel of seven fathoms, and the course is more towards the island, for if the side of the main land is taken there is little water—less than three fathoms—but further out it is deep enough—twenty fathoms.

On the next Saturday, the 28th of November, we left the "Puerto Bermejo", and, following the land on the right hand as we had done up to this time, we presently, in coming out, discovered a small point which is near the port, three leagues S.W. We gave it the name of "Punta de la Anunciada";[2] and half-way there is a channel turning W.N.W., with a mouth a league and a half in width. We called it "El Brazo del Oeste",[3] because it has more westing in its direction than any other quarter. It appeared to cut through the land and reach the sea by that quarter. We crossed the entrance of this channel, and arrived at the "Punta de la Anunciada", and there we took bearings of the coast and bays within sight.

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[1] "West Channel" of the chart.

[2] In 50° 30′ S. on the chart. Only dotted lines in this part on the Admiralty Chart.

[3] "West Channel" of the chart.

As our provisions were coming to an end, and it was dangerous to leave the ships for long with only one boat between them, which could not be utilised by both in the event of the necessity arising at the same time in both ships, we did not proceed further. We turned back, with the intention of removing the ships from a port which was not good, and taking them to that secure harbour of the "Concepcion de Nuestra Señora", which we had discovered, so that we could more readily proceed with the discoveries. In a country where so much bad weather prevailed, and where the ports were unknown, it was not desirable to take the ships out of one port without having first discovered another whither to take them by a route that had been previously sounded and surveyed, when this is possible.

The whole of this land, so far as we could judge, is rough and mountainous[1] near the sea, and the heights bare, with craggy rocks, and in some places mud and spongy patches of grass. We recognised some trees like those of Spain, such as cypress, fir, holly, myrtle, evergreen, oak, and among herbs, celery and water cress. All these trees are green and damp, yet they bear well, for they are resinous, especially the fir and cypress.[2] The mass of the land that we saw, near the sea, did not appear good, for it had no earth mould.[3] But, owing to the excessive humidity, there is such thick and close growing moss on the rocks, that it

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[1] Composed of coarse-grained syenite, intersected with dykes of greenstone. About Port Rosario there is an outcrop of limestone of a pale blue colour.—*Coppinger*, p. 47.

[2] The trees are the evergreen and antarctic beeches (*Fagus betuloides* and *antarctica*), Winter's bark (*Drimys Winteri*) and cypress (*Libocedrus tetragonus*). There are several beautiful flowering shrubs and creepers, such as the *Lapageria rosea*, and numerous ferns, including several beautiful species of the genus *Hymenophyllum*.—*Coppinger*, p. 46.

[3] A dense network of interlacing roots forms the soil on which the trees take root.

is sufficient for the trees to germinate in it, to enable them to grow and form forests. These masses of moss are spongy, so that in stepping on them, feet and legs sink down, and in some places up to the waist. One man went in up to the armpits, and for this reason it is most laborious work to traverse these forests ; as well as because they are excessively dense, so much so that, in some places, we were forced to make our way along the branches and tops of the trees. We were able to sustain ourselves there owing to the extreme thickness and interlacing of the vegetation, and we found this less laborious than making our way on the ground. But both these ways were exhausting, though we had to adopt them to avoid precipices.

The marine birds seen by us were black ducks, called by others sea crows ; others grey, both large and small, gulls, and *rabios de juncos*.[1] These birds are so called because they have a single, very long, and slender feather in the tail, which, when they fly, resembles a thin stick or wand. Hence the Spaniards gave them this name when they discovered the Indies. We also saw *rabi-horcados*, which are like kites, and have the tail parted. The grease of this bird has medicinal qualities. There were a kind of ducks, grey and black, without feathers, and which cannot fly,[2] but they run on foot. In the water they cannot rise but by their feet, using their pinions as oars. They thus go through the water with great velocity, and they leave a track like that of a boat when propelled by oars. Their velocity is so great that a good boat under sail, with a fair wind, cannot overtake them. In the woods there are small black birds like thrushes, warblers, great owls, kestrels, and

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[1] Skuas. Coppinger mentions, among the birds, steamer ducks (*Tachyeres cinereus*), kelp geese (*Bernicla antarctica*), oyster catchers (*Hæmatopus leucopus*), ashy-headed brent geese (*Chloefaga poliocephala*).

[2] Penguins.

sparrow hawks. These we saw. No doubt there were other things to observe, but as our time was short we did not see them. There should be tapirs (*antas*) and deer ; we did not see any, only the footprints and large bones. Of fish we saw red prawns—a good fish—cockle shells, and an immense quantity of other shells. In those which are on the rocks, out of the water, there are many very small pearls. Some of them are grey, but others white. In some places we found so many pearls in the shells that we regretted we could not eat the molluscs, for it would have been like eating gravel. For while we were on this service we cared much more for food than for riches. Very often we were in want of food, and in order to extend our discoveries from one point to another, we had to make four days' provisions last us for ten days. Then we had to eke them out by eating shell fish, and even the pearls did not stop us. Here we realised of what little value are riches not consisting of food, when one is hungry, and how useless. We reflected how much wiser the ancients were, who considered that riches consisted of tame flocks and cultivated fields, for which reason many strange people made their way to Spain.

In this season it rains very much, and the winds are very tempestuous from North, N.W., and West. When the storms begin to veer from north, there is hail, with intense cold, but the north wind is more temperate. When it rains all the woods are a perfect sea, and the beaches are rivers pouring into the sea.[1]

On the same day, Saturday, the 28th of November, that

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[1] The peaks and ridges of the broken-up range of mountains of which the islands and coast are formed, intercept the moisture-laden clouds, which are continually being wafted from seaward by the prevailing westerly winds, frequent and long continued downpours being the result. The annual rainfall is 149.6 inches. The mean annual temperature 49°, and the extremes 36° to 60°.—*Coppinger.*

we arrived at "Punta de la Anunciada", we returned to pass the night at "Puerto Bermejo"; and this day Anton Pablos climbed the high hill, for even yet he was incredulous that it was sea that was in sight, although it certainly was.

On the next day, being Sunday, we left "Puerto Bermejo" for the ships in "Puerto del Rosario", and as we were now run out of provisions, and we could not proceed under sail as we did in going, the wind being contrary, the sailors set to with a will, and pulled so well that we did in three days the same distance as we had done under sail in the same time. All suffered great hardships, for besides having little to eat there were storms of wind and heavy seas every day, and they were constantly wet through. They had to let their clothes dry on their backs, for they had no changes, as there was only room in the boat for the men and the provisions. They also suffered much from the cold, which stiffened them, and the only remedy was to work at the oars with great force and fury. He who did not row hard suffered the most. Under these circumstances it pleased our Lord God that we should arrive at "Rosario" on Tuesday, the 1st of December, 1579, having, in going and coming, covered more than seventy leagues, while discovering and surveying ports, channels, bays, roadsteads, rocks and reefs, and giving them names, besides observing by dead reckoning and by altitudes. The whole of which the General regularly described in writing and by depicting in public, in presence of those who were with him, namely, Hernando Lamero and Anton Pablos, pilots.

This time we did not navigate along the eastern coast, but we saw it clearly enough to take bearings on it, so as to plot it down on the chart; and our observations respecting it were as follows:—

From near the "Punta de la Galeotilla", on the east

coast, an entrance opens to the S.E. four leagues, the bay being a league across. We called it the channel of "San Andres".[1] From the channel "San Andres" the coast turns to the north for two leagues, as far as another channel which runs into the lane N.E.; and near it to the west, in the main channel, there is a small islet. From the "Punta del Brazo Ancho" tending S.E. by S., there is a channel which we called "Abra de tres Cerros", because there are some large hills at its entrance. From the same "Punta del Brazo Ancho" to the E.N.E., two leagues and a half, is the "Brazo Ancho". The mouth is three leagues across, and it runs into the land N.E. towards a great snowy mountain on the mainland. From the "Brazo Ancho" the coast turns N.W., forming many islands with channels between them, which we could not count.

It must be understood that although in going we kept along the west coast, following the right hand, it is not all one continuous coast, but broken and indented throughout. Each channel forms a great number of islands, and the land is all broken into pieces. On the other side the formation is the same as far as the snowy mountains, which are visible all along the main channel from "Rosario". Pedro Sarmiento therefore named the land the "Archipelago of the Viceroy Don Francisco de Toledo", because it was by his order that this fleet was equipped and sent to discover these lands.

Having returned to the port of "Rosario", we gave an account to our companions who had remained there on board the ships, of the goodness of the channel, and how it led to the open sea, and of the excellent harbour we had discovered. Many were rejoiced, because, from all the previous talk, they had lost confidence—above all, the Admiral, and even more the Sergeant-Major, Pascual

[1] "Andrew Sound" of the Admiralty Chart, in 50° 20′ S.

Suarez. He it was who made the others cowardly on this subject, saying that we were embayed, and that it was not possible but that we should be lost. Our arrival quieted them, and rejoiced those who wished to go on. For those who wanted to return said that the General had deceived them in order to induce them to proceed with the voyage; and that if he wanted to be drowned they were not so desperate, and preferred to return to Chile.

On Wednesday, the 2nd of December, Pedro Sarmiento sent the Pilot Hernando Alonso, with both the boats equipped for creeping, to seek and recover the lost anchors in the "Puerto Primero". It had not been possible to do this before, because it required both boats. Although he worked until noon he was unable to find them. This is the reason why we did not proceed to "Puerto Bermejo" on Wednesday. On Thursday, the 3rd, before dawn, there was such a gale from the north and north-east that we expected to founder at our anchors. Although the port is good, the gusts over the land and those which were caused by and came through the narrow channel, were most furious. The *Almiranta* parted one of her hawsers, which were fast on shore. She was drifting, and the stern walk over the poop was actually on a plumb line with the rocks, when God miraculously saved her. The anchor that was dragging was brought up, and the boat of the *Capitana* was promptly sent with an anchor and two cables, by which the *Almiranta* was again secured and saved from that danger. As the fury of the gale continued, the Admiral was afraid to remain on board the ship, and went on shore with some soldiers, where he set up a hut, and remained in it all that day and night. On Friday, as the wind did not moderate, but rather increased, the *Almiranta* lost another cable which was chafed by a rock, the bottom being foul. Her danger was seen from the *Capitana,* and Pedro Sarmiento went on board the *Almiranta,* taking with him

the Pilot Hernando Alonso and some sailors, who helped to secure the ship, and anchor her safely, with the help of God. Understanding what the Admiral had done, Pedro Sarmiento sent the boat for him and for the soldiers who were with him. He was reprimanded with moderation, as it was not a fitting time to do more. He made no excuse, except his little confidence, and the soldiers put the blame on him, saying that he had taken them with him. Having seen that the ship was safe, Pedro Sarmiento returned to the *Capitana.*

On Saturday, the 5th of December, it rained all day, so that all the woods experienced a universal deluge, and the darkness was such that it was impossible to leave the port that day. Sunday, the 6th, dawned with clearer and better weather. We, therefore, weighed and made sail, but owing to squalls of wind we could not leave the port, and had to anchor again to effect repairs. Thus we could not start that day, as it grew late, and we came to near the reefs, so as to depart at the first appearance of fine weather: but in this country there is no certainty as to what a single hour may bring with it. Hence it is necessary to take advantage on the instant, on pain of doing nothing and remaining always isolated, or being lost, which is much the same thing.

On Monday, the 7th of the month, it dawned with fine weather, and the Captain gave orders to weigh and make sail. The *Almiranta* went out first, as she was nearer the entrance, and the *Capitana* followed. We shaped a course S.E. in the line of the channel. At ten o'clock the weather was clear, and Pedro Sarmiento was all day in the castle of the poop with the compass, marking out and verifying the chart he had made in the first discovery. As we were sailing in mid channel, with clear weather, and he was at a slight elevation, he was well able to verify both shores, and the islands, rocks, reefs, and entrances to channels. He

added some things of which he could not make quite sure during the boat voyage, owing to hazy weather and showers. Thus he fixed correctly all he was able to see. For the island "En-medio" the General took the altitude in 50° 20′, he being between the entrance of "Brazo Ancho' and that island. Thence we began to shape a course for the "Brazo del Sudueste", which we named "Brazo de la Concepcion", because we passed it on the eve of that feast. At vespers we came to an anchor at the mouth of the "Puerto Bermejo", on the south side, but as the bottom was uneven the anchors did not hold, but owing to the diligence of the pilots and sailors, the ship was towed inside the harbour. The *Almiranta*, in entering, touched on a bank of sand and suffered two bumps, but they did no damage, and she was towed off. Glory to God who preserved her! On that same night the wind was from the north, although there was not much of it, for it rained heavily, which took much of the force out of the wind.

On Tuesday, the 8th of December, the feast of the Conception of our Lady, the most holy Mother of God, it dawned with such foul weather over land and sea, and with such a tempest of rain and north wind, that it was not possible to attend to anything connected with navigation, for we were confined to the ship, and the only result of attempting to work would be to meet an evil death without any advantage whatever.

Having arrived in this port, it was resolved to set out on another exploring expedition with the boat, and among other things we had to do was the work of putting the brigantine together, which had been brought out in pieces on board the *Capitana*. The timbers were brought out on the beach, the props and supports were fixed, the forge was set up, and huts were erected. Guards of soldiers were placed, that they might be with their officers. All things

being thus arranged, Pedro Sarmiento determined to set out on his voyage of discovery, leaving the Admiral in his place to look after the ships and the people, and to finish building the brigantine.

V.

Second Voyage of Discovery in the boat "Santiago".

In the name of the most Holy Trinity, Pedro Sarmiento set out in the *Capitana's* boat, named the "Santiago", with Anton Pablos, Pilot of the *Capitana*, and Lamero, the Chief Pilot of the *Almiranta*, fourteen men with arquebuses, swords, and shields, with provisions for eight days. They started at eight o'clock in the morning, on Friday, the 11th of December 1579, to discover the sea at the entrance of the strait.

From "Puerto Bermejo" we went to the "Punta de la Anunciada", so named during the former boat voyage. From thence they discovered another point, a quarter of a league S.W., from which the coast turns a little west of S.W. for two leagues, to a point we named "Nuestra Señora de la Peña de Francia". There is, off the point and near the land, a small pinnacle rock. In this distance of two leagues there are two small bays. From "Anunciada" we discovered a cape running out into the sea, on the left hand to S.W. by S. which we named "Cabo de Santiago".

Continuing our voyage we passed a little to leeward of the "Punta de la Anunciada", and thence crossed the opening and gulf of "La Concepcion" under sail, steering south. In this opening, two leagues S.E. of "Anunciada", there is a small island, and, beyond it, a group of seven little islets, the whole covering a space of a league and a half. For two-thirds of the distance we steered south, and for a third S.E., arriving at a bay which we called "Arre-

cifes", there being many reefs. It is three leagues from "Anunciada". From this bay the coast turns to S.W. by S. 300 paces to a small point, whence we discovered an islet, which we named "San Buenaventura", S.S.W. one and a half leagues; another small islet N. by E. half a league was called "Isla de Lobos", because we saw some very large seals there. Between the two there is a bank, on which the sea breaks. "Isla de Lobos" bears from the "Cabo de Santiago" south-westerly four leagues. Near it there are eight fathoms, bottom stony with much weed. The land between "Ancon de Arrecifes" and the island of "San Buenaventura" forms a great bay for a league and a half to a point and anchorage which we named San Francisco. Here we landed as it was late. Being settled down, a soldier fired a shot at some birds, and at the report, some Indians, who were in a wood on the other side of the bay, uttered loud shouts. At the first cry we thought it was the seals, until we saw them naked, with red bodies which, as we afterwards saw, they anoint with a red earth. We got into the boat and went to where these people stood. Some were in a thicket among some densely growing trees, and among them an old man, with a cap of seal skin, who spoke to and gave orders to the others. On the coast near the sea, among some rocks, there were fifteen youths quite naked. Approaching them with signs of peace, they signed to us with loud voices and much earnestness, with their arms pointed to where we had left the ships. When we got nearer to the rocks they made signs that they would approach, and that we should give them something of what we had with us. They came, and we gave them what we had. Sarmiento presented two cloths and a handkerchief, having nothing else about him. The pilots and soldiers also gave them some trifles, with which they were content. We gave them wine, and they spit it out after they had tasted it. We also gave them some

biscuit, which they ate, but they were not made confident by all this.[1]

As we were on a wild coast, and in danger of losing the boat, we returned to our first encampment, and told them by signs that they should come there. Having arrived at the camp, Sarmiento posted two sentries for security, and to catch one of the natives for an interpreter. Owing to this forethought one of them was secured, and Sarmiento presently embraced, and flattered him. Taking a few things from one and another, he was dressed and put in the boat. Then we all embarked and departed when it was still night. We went to stop at three islets in the form of a triangle, a league from the point where we first saw these people, whence we named it "Punta de la Gente". The islands bear S.S.W. from the point. We called them "La Dormida", because we went there to stop and pass the night. The land between "Punta de la Gente" and the islands of "La Dormida" forms a great bay, and is a wild coast and much exposed. We did not land on the islands, because we arrived in the dead of night, but slept in the boat.

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[1] Coppinger considers the natives of the Gulf of Trinidad to be the most primitive among all the varieties of the human species. They are closely allied to, but different from, the Fuegians. They lead a wandering life, constantly shifting in their canoes from place to place. For the greater part of the year they live almost entirely on mussels and limpets, with occasionally a seal or small otter. The height of the men averages 5 ft. 1 in., and the women are shorter, complexion an ochry coffee colour, eyes dark and close together, hair long, black, and coarse. Upper extremities and trunk are well-developed, but the legs very poorly developed. The men are almost entirely naked, sometimes wearing a square piece of seal skin hanging from the neck. Their canoes are constructed of five planks, one forming the bottom, the other four, 1½ ft. wide, the sides, laced together by the flexible stem of a creeping plant. The seams are stuffed with bark. They have two kinds of spears, one for fishing the other for sealing, and each party is provided with an iron axe. Their huts are like small haycocks, 10 ft. by 12 ft., and 6 ft. high.

On Saturday, the 12th of December, we left these islets of "Le Dormida", which are near the main land. From them we saw a high mountain to the S.S.E. three leagues, which we called "La Silla", because it forms a great saddle on the top. In this distance there is a large channel full of small islands, reefs, and banks. The day broke clear, and the sun rose S.E., the sun being on the tropic of Capricorn, and ourselves in 51°. We made sail to a light N.N.E. breeze. The islets of "La Dormida" bear from Cape "Santiago" east and west, and that cape from the "Silla" N.W. and S.E. 6 leagues.

Half a league to the N.W. of the "Silla" there is an islet which we called "Isla de Pajaros", because there were many birds on it, and between it and the "Silla" there are 17 very small islets. From the "Silla" we discovered an island which contains a high bluff all of stone, which we named the "Roca Partida", S.W. by S. $2\frac{1}{2}$ leagues. It bears from the "Isla de Pajaros" south-westerly. To the S.W. by S. of the "Silla", 1 league, there are many rocks on which the sea breaks. We reached the "Roca Partida" at noon, and thence descried a bluff to S.W. by S. of the rock, 6 leagues, which we named "Santa Lucia".[1]

To the W.S.W. of the "Roca Partida" 2 leagues, there are two rocks, and beyond them a cluster of small rocks and breakers. The sea washes over them, and the breakers form an arch which surrounds the island from W. to N.E. Within there is a space full of rocks a wash. We landed for dinner on this island at noon, and took the sun on shore in 51° 10′. Cape "Santiago" bears N.N.W. from this island. On the north side of the island there is fresh water, and good timber for oars. On the east side it has a tolerable sized port. Large ships cannot enter because

[1] The outer face terminates with a perpendicular precipice.—*Adventure and Beagle*, i, 157.

the whole island is surrounded by reefs. Four cables from the shore there are 7 fathoms with stony bottoms.

From this island we steered first to the east, then S.W. in search of the cape of Santa Lucia, the sea being covered with rocks, reefs, and islets. Two leagues before reaching the cape, a little more or less, a channel enters into the land for one league S.S.W. We called it the channel of "San Blas", and at its mouth there are many high islets to S.E., East, and N.W. Being under sail in the midst of these reefs, the wind began to freshen in squalls, so that we were obliged to abandon the course leading to Cape Santa Lucia and run before it, entering the channel of San Blas. We were rejoiced at this, believing that we had found shelter whence, without danger, we should be able to run out into the main channel again. But a squall came down and carried away the mast, sending it into the water, with the sail. Having got them back into the boat, we proceeded up the channel with oars. When we believed we should come out into the sea, we found that we were embayed, after having gone a league and a half. This caused us much annoyance, because the wind was foul for going back under sail, and it is most difficult to pull against wind and sea, and seemed to us impossible to human force. In order quite to undeceive ourselves, or else to see whether there was no way out, for we could not quite discern everything from the boat, we went on shore. Pedro Sarmiento, the Pilots, and some others, climbed up a very high mountain, overtopping all its neighbours, and from the top we could see the open sea, but that there was no outlet from the bay. A channel did not unite with the bay by a distance of less than a stone's throw from the S.W. We received much affliction from this discovery, but we commended ourselves to God, and took possession for his Majesty, placing a small cross on the summit, calling it the mount of "Santa Cruz". We went down to where we had left the

boat and our other companions, and passed the night there.

On Sunday, the 13th of December, in the morning, we returned to the outer channel, and in coming out we encountered such a squall that we were forced to make fast to some rocks, solely to shelter ourselves from the fury of the wind, without being able to land. On the morning of Monday, the 14th, we attempted to go out to sea and continue our course, but when we came from under the shelter of the rocks we were nearly lost, owing to the force of the wind and the heavy sea. We were obliged to return to the shelter of the rocks whence we had come. At dawn the Indian, whom we had captured, fled. Sending to search for him from rock to rock, the guard from whom he had fled, found him, and taking hold of the shirt that had been put on him, he slipped out of it, left it in the hands of the guard, jumped into the water, and went off. This day there was a great storm, and we could not leave our shelter. At noon the sun came out, and we took the altitude in 51° 15′. We called the sheltering rock the "Island where the Indian escaped".

On Tuesday, in the afternoon, the sea appeared to have become a little less rough in one of the channels, and it seemed better for us to return to the ships than to proceed, because we had consumed all the provisions, and to gain anything we must get clear of these rocks. In coming out into the open from between these rocks, we met with a heavy sea, and it was blowing hard, so that if we had gone we should have been swamped by the waves. We were, therefore, forced to go back, and with extreme difficulty we regained the shelter of some other rocks where we remained until the storm abated. These rocks were very rugged, with sharp peaks, so that there was not a place to plant the feet, and to get a light we had to get into a cavity where all was most filthy mud.

On Wednesday, the 16th of December, we set out from those rocks to go to the Roca Partida ; and, arriving among the reefs, such a storm arose, that we thought we must have perished. We were forced to run before it, and God was served by our running into a shelter behind some very sharp rocks, in escaping from the seas. These rocks were like hedge-hogs, so that our shoes were soon in pieces, the rocks cutting like razors. Here we remained, in hopes that this universal tempest of wind from W. and W.S.W., with rain and frozen hail, would abate a little. We here took the altitude in 51° 15′. The gale continued all Thursday, and we could not come out.

On Friday, the 18th, there appeared to be some improvement towards the north, and we went out to sea in the boat, to proceed under the lee of the rocks so as to reach the Roca Partida. It, however, again blew so hard from the N.W., and raised such a sea, that we could not proceed, so to save ourselves from being swamped we again ran before it until we were clear of the rocks, which are numerous and very dangerous, and, what is worse, the sea-weed which is raised among them, would not fail to come out and destroy the boat if perchance she entered some bed of sea-weed. It is to be noted that in sighting a bed of weed here it must be avoided, because it is shallow, and no trust must be placed in seeing the sea going down in all directions, because the same sea-weed, although it be very shallow where it grows, brings the sea down so that the waves are not so high where it is; thus it is very dangerous. A sharp look out should be kept. In coming out from among the rocks we shaped a course to the east, taking the seas by the stern, to escape from death. Being about half a league from the dangers, we were dashing from sea to sea in the direction of the Roca Partida. The muscular sailors forced her on by the strength of their arms, rushing from one headland to another until God was served, this

day, before dark, by our reaching the bay of the Roca Partida. Nevertheless we made our way by tacks, so that we went over double the ground, and with the Creed in our mouths.

This port of Roca Partida is a bay, with a sandy beach. It is not, however, a port for ships, only for boats and brigantines. It is at a distance of a league and a half from the eastern side. There is a little swamp, and much good fuel, and at a point of the beach, under the parted rock, there is a large cave in a fissure. Here there is shelter for a large number of people. We found considerable evidence of the presence of natives, and an entire skeleton of a man or woman.[1] There is on the beach a heavy surf. We remained here two days and two nights owing to the continuous bad weather. As we were now in want of food, we set out, in spite of the weather, on Sunday, the 20th of December, and wishing to round the island so as to be under its lee, we came to the reefs on the north-east side of it, and encountered a heavy sea and strong wind, with a current which broke the water in all directions. Again, to save ourselves, we had to run before it, flying away from a large bay which appeared in the land to E.N.E., as near as we could make it, so as not to return to the island. Night was approaching, and the mist was so thick that we lost sight of the land. We were thus navigating blindfold, until coming near the land we could see the loom of the coast, but it did not look like land, and as we saw the sea rising in all directions we had great fear that we should be lost. There was no part of the land that was accessible, and we could not keep out at sea, so that there was danger of death under any circumstances.

Thus, proceeding before the wind, we were benighted

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[1] The natives appear to dispose of their dead by depositing them in caves.—*Coppinger*, p. 54.

near the land. We went in the direction of the coast, commending ourselves to our Lady of Guadalupe and, with her Divine Majesty as our guide, we entered a bay sheltered from all winds, in the dark, where we remained that night well content. Believing every moment that we should be swamped, we found ourselves restored to life. We called this bay "Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe", for the above reason. To her be offered infinite thanks!

On Monday morning Pedro Sarmiento sent two men up different hills to see whether a channel which ran east from this bay, and another which ran north, continued onwards. One of them brought back a report that one of the channels went very far into the land, and that he had seen a canoe coming, with Indians in it. In consequence of this news, and to avoid the fury and dangers of the sea, as well as to seek out a good route for the ships, we went up that channel where it was reported that a canoe had been seen. In leaving the bay of Guadalupe it divided into two branches, the larger one turning east, and the other N.E. By this we proceeded, and at half a league from the entrance we found the canoe, with four or five Indians. We went towards them, but when they saw us they pulled to the shore, left the canoe, and fled into the woods. We took the canoe, and putting Hernando Lamero and four men into it, sent it ahead of the boat to a point where we had seen more Indians. Arriving there we found nothing but a low round hut, made of sticks fixed in the ground, and covered with the bark of trees and seal skins. Two sailors went on shore and found nothing in the hut but baskets, shells, small nets, and weapons like fizgigs, for harpooning, as well as some lumps of red earth, with which all these Indians anoint their bodies. Having received the pilot again who had been in the canoe, and had gone some distance inland with one man to reconnoitre, and the other men, we left the canoe for the Indians, and continued to

pull up the channel to the N.E. until night, for three leagues, for we had been delayed a good deal with the canoe. We went up the channel with some anxiety, for at every turn we expected to find that we were embayed.

On Tuesday morning we followed the channel, which, from the sleeping-place turned S.W. one league, and half a league more brought us to the sea, at a league from the bay of Guadalupe. At the entrance we saw another channel going north. We went up it for a league, and found that the hill called "Silla" was an island. We went on north, and passing the island of Silla there was a bay full of rocks and islands. We called this island "San Martin de Pasage". In this league and a half we were delayed from before noon until night-fall, owing to the strong adverse currents we met with, and a north wind right ahead.

The eastern coast is inaccessible, with high rocky land, and at intervals there are openings. The bay we had to cross, which begins at Concepcion, is all surrounded and shut in with islets and reefs. We arrived at the back of the land where we had taken the Indian who escaped from us, and found that it was an island. We named it the island of "San Francisco" and, within the channel, between it and the land to the east, there are six islets and rocks at the mouth. We passed the night at this island of San Francisco.

On Wednesday, the 23rd, we left the island of San Francisco. Here are many coves and anchoring places which are suitable for brigantines and boats, but at the entrances there are large beds of sea-weed. The coast on the other side has three bays in a row. The channel continues in a northerly direction for a breadth of about a a league. The broken land on the east side trends north for two leagues, and then turns E.N.E. to the narrow part further on. Thence it turns a league north, with some

islands and rounded rocks off it. The coast of the island of San Francisco trends north until it comes to a place where there are reefs, at the end of the group of islets, the channel between them being a quarter of a league wide. We called the extreme point of the island of San Francisco the point of "Santa Clara", and the channel along which we had come "Santa Clara". The other point of the island was named "Arrecifes".

From the point of Arrecifes the coast of the broken land trends a little S.S.E., and then S.E., and between it and the mountains of the main land there appeared to be a channel. We saw the entrance, wide and clear, trending east. Between the two points of Santa Clara and Arrecifes, the channel of Santa Clara unites with that of Concepcion. Further north, a quarter of a league, another point runs out with a rock on it. Between this Point of Farallon and Point Santa Clara, a channel makes Santa Clara into an island, and thence the coast trends S.W., and there are many islands extending to the Bay of Arrecifes, where we dined when we set out from Anunciada and Port Bermejo.

On Thursday, the 24th of December, we left Point Santa Clara on the island of San Francisco, although it was blowing from the north, and crossed the bay of Concepcion. The waters ran to the N.E. with the flood tide, and we went along the coast to leeward of Concepcion, arriving very early at Port Bermejo with the help of the current. We were now without a mouthful of food, having, by serving it out with great moderation, made eight days' provisions last for thirteen days. The morning we arrived the food had come to an end, but we could have made it last three days more if we had not been so near the ships, although we could not have had a good meal. Glory to our Lord God that all had been accomplished and supplied through his most sacred grace.

We found the brigantine completely put together, one

side planked, pitched, and caulked, and the other nearly finished. We found that, while the General was absent on his voyage of discovery, some Indians had come to a hill overlooking Port Bermejo. The Spaniards went after them and captured one, taking him to the *Almiranta*, but he escaped.

On Friday, the 25th of December, being Christmas Day, no work was done on the brigantine on account of the solemnity of the festival ; and also because it rained so hard that it would have greatly hindered those who had to work outside the shed, the wind being north. On Saturday, the 26th, there was a cold and freezing S.W. wind, with a clear sky. In this region the north winds bring a mild climate and much rain, but they blow most furiously, and the same may be said of the N.E. winds. From the N.W. and S.W. the winds are very cold, and the west winds are the most tempestuous of all, but they last a shorter time than any others, and soon bring fair weather. Thus we have it, from our known experience, that when there are N. and N.W. winds which turn to west, the force will soon be spent, and a clear sky will follow, though with much cold.

As we had not been able to find a good harbour nor a secure passage for the ships, Pedro Sarmiento, with the concurrence of the Admiral and Pilots, resolved to go again to try the channel on the east side, which seemed to turn towards the snowy mountains of the main land, for he held for certain that there was a channel which came out on the other side of the cape of San Lucia. If so, a good passage out might be found, which was needful for taking the ships out safely while the brigantine was being finished.

VI.

Third Voyage of Discovery in the Boat "Nuestra Señora de Guia".

PEDRO SARMIENTO set out on Tuesday, the 29th of December 1579, with Anton Pablos and Hernando Lamero, Pilots, and twelve men, in the boat "Nuestra Señora de Guia", with provisions for ten days. They left Port Bermejo to discover the channel, which appeared to turn S.E. from Port Bermejo, and ascertain whether there was a channel and port by which the ships might be taken through safely, without having to return to the high sea.

We made sail before a W.S.W. wind, steering S.E. by E. for 2 leagues, as far as an island which extends a league N.N.E. and S.S.W. It was named "Los Innocentes", because we left it the day after their feast, and followed the channel S.E. another 4 leagues to a point on the east coast to the east of the inlet of La Concepcion. Behind this point, which we named the point of "San Juan", to the north, the coast forms a creek, where we made fast and slept there, stationing a good guard, as we always did.

To the S.S.E. of the island of Los Innocentes there is a large entrance to a channel which, in our belief, is the one which leads from the bay of Guadalupe, as before said.

To the north-east of the Innocents there is a large channel, where we stopped and remained that night, and which we believed to be the one which comes from the bay and channel of San Andres. A league to the N.E. of the point of San Juan there is the mouth of a channel, which

should be the channel of San Andres coming from Concepcion. In this bay, where we passed the night, there is great depth.

On Wednesday, the 30th of December, we left the bay under sail, steering S.E., and having proceeded for a league and a half across a wide bay, we entered a narrow of 300 paces in width. In this strait there is a point, behind which there is a bay where there are 20 fathoms, sandy bottom, and a cable nearer the island it is stony. The bay is sheltered from the sea and from all winds. We called it the port of "Ochavario".[1]

From the strait the channel begins to widen by little and little towards the S.S.E. for two leagues to an island which we called the "Island of Two Channels", because here the channel divides into two branches. That on the right runs for 3 leagues S. by W. to a point we called "San Estevan", and that on the left goes S.S.E. for a league to a point we named "San Antonio". Between the strait and the Island of Two Channels the coast forms a bay, full of low wooded islets.

Proceeding down the channel to S.S.E. for half a league, another channel opens to the east, with an islet in the middle, beyond which it divides into two: one going east towards the snowy mountains and the other north, which is, I think, the one which branches off from the Brazo Ancho of the channel of Concepcion. South of the islet there is another large island, and to the east of it these two branches reunite to S.S.E., which was our course. About a league from the point of the Island of Two Channels the island is divided in two, and a channel is formed, which connects that of San Estevan with that to the S.W. At the east point in the channel, a cable from the island, there are 15 fathoms rocky bottom, and a little further forty

[1] In 50° 41′ S. on the Admiralty Chart.

fathoms. Here a ship could be alongside with yards braced up. From point San Antonio the coast turns S.S.W.

East and west with the point of San Antonio[1] there is an islet forming a little creek, where there are 20 fathoms, with clean sandy bottom, half a cable from the land, a little further out, stony, and then 40 to 50 fathoms, clean bottom. At the point of the islet there is a rock and a bed of sea-weeds, and close to the rock 8 fathoms, a half cable further there being 12 fathoms, then 20 fathoms. East of a stream of fresh water, which descends from a hill inland, and a little more than a cable's length from the land, there are 25 fathoms, clean bottom. There is anchorage to the south of the island, which we called "El Surgidero", and on opening the channel from the north, two cables from the island, there are 50 fathoms—mud.

A league and a half from the point of San Antonio the coast trends S.S.E., and in this part, on the east coast, which is on the left hand, there is a large bay, with much depth at the entrance. Near the sea-weed there are 6 fathoms, and within 7, 8, and 9, sand and ooze. It is entered by the west, and has an outlet to the south. It is surrounded by sandy beaches and sea-weed. In the south channel there are 10 fathoms—gravel. We called this bay "Bahia Buena", or "Puerto Bueno",[2] it being both the one and the other.

From the Bahia Buena, on the left hand coast, we discovered a point half a league to the S.S.E., which we named "Punta Delgada" because it is low, with beaches and a low coast. From this point, on the same side, another appears, which we called "San Marcos",[3] S.S.E. one league.

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[1] In 50° 54′ S. on the Admiralty Chart.
[2] In 51° S. on the chart.
[3] In 51° 4′ S. on the chart.

The opposite coast is parallel, and is higher, with some snow on the mountains, while the eastern side is lower, and is indented with more bays. Before arriving at the point of San Marcos there is a mouth opening from the Gran Brazo, and a bay, where we took the altitude. Sarmiento and Anton Pablos made it 51°, and Lamero 51° 15′. We called the place "Caleta del Altura".

Beyond the point of San Marcos there is a point three leagues to the south, which we named "San Lucas", and on the opposite side of the channel, a league N.N.W., there is a large bay with a beach. It appeared to be an anchorage, but we did not go nearer to it. To W.N.W. there is another opening on the right-hand coast, where the channel of San Estevan joins, and this opening communicates with the bay of Monte de Trigo, and thence continues as the Channel of the Archipelago.

A league and a half more to the south there is another point, which we named "San Matéo", and from that point to the south another point is seen, one league and a half to the south. We called it "San Vicente". Between the two points a great arm of the sea opens, and to S.E. of it there is a long point. To the west of it a channel enters the main channel. From the point of San Vicente,[1] a low point came in sight to south, which we named "San Pablo",[2] and between them are two bays. On this day, Wednesday, we had a north wind, while the currents were against the wind during the greater part of the day. To the south there was another low point, two leagues distant, called "San Baltasar", and between the two points there is a bay on the main land, full of wooded islets and rocks. The coast consists of bluff heights of grey rock, bare from half way up. Here, too, there was a bay which

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[1] In 51° 31′, and nearly 74° W. on the chart.

[2] In 51° 33′ S. on the chart.

we called "San Melchior", where we passed Wednesday night.

Thursday was the 31st of December. We left the bay under sail and, half a league further on, we came to a point which we named "San Gaspar", where there are two islets in the middle of the channel. From this point the left-hand in coast continues to trend south for 400 paces, and there takes a turn, changing its direction. We named this angle "Point Gracias á Dios", and opposite to it, on the right-hand side of the channel, there are two inlets which appeared to be ports. The channel is here barely a quarter of a league across. Off this point there are 30 fathoms, clean bottom, at half a cable from the shore, and at a cable there is no bottom. From the point the channel turns S.S.E., a quarter southerly.

From Gracias á Dios another point is discovered, 300 paces on the same bearing, which was named "San Bernabé", and at a league's distance another point projects, named "San Bartolomé". From Gracias á Dios to this place the distance is a league. To the S.W. by W., on the right-hand side, there is a bay like an arm of the sea, and beyond it, on the same bearing, rather a large black-looking island, north and south, in the middle of which there is a hill which we called "Pan de Azucar". Here the channel is scarcely half a league across.

From the Point of San Bernabé another point came in sight on the same bearing, on the left-hand coast, which we called "San Benito", and between them there is a bay, curving like a bow, with an inlet in the centre, leading up to the snowy mountains, which appeared very high and with many peaks. One of the peaks looked like a six-pointed crown, and another to the south resembled the hand of Judas open, and seen from behind. There was much snow. The upper snow was white, and the lower was blue, like verdigrease. Where there was no snow the

mountains were black. This is the mountain chain of the main land, but all the rest of the land to the westward, whither we have been going to explore, is archipelago, and land broken into pieces.

A little before arriving at the point of San Benito, on the right-hand side, between three small beaches the length of the boat, at a cable from the shore, there are 40 fathoms—sandy bottom ; and two boat's lengths nearer the shore 25 fathoms—clean ground, with shells. Close to the rocks there are 3 fathoms, and in front of a beach, more to the S.W., two boat's lengths from the shore, there are 12 fathoms —shells. Within the same bay near the rocks, 7 fathoms clean ground, so that a ship could lie close to the beach. Among the beds of sea-weed in the middle of the bay, there are 5 fathoms—stony ground. Between the central beach and the last, half a cable from the shore, there are 10 fathoms—clean bottom ; and in front of the third beach, 16 fathoms.

At this point of San Benito the channel becomes a narrow strait, with four islets and rocks in it, and a bed of sea-weed. Three of the islets are near the point to the east, and the other on the west side. The main channel is between the three and the one nearer to the three islets, where there is a wider space, without sea-weed. The channel here has 6, 7, 8, and 10 fathoms—clean bottom. It might be used as a port, keeping clear of the sea-weed, where there is little depth, especially where there are thick places on the west side. Here there is a rock amongst the sea-weed, the sides only appearing, which are awash. From these reefs among the beds of sea-weed the channel follows the same direction for 2 leagues, where a long low point runs out on the right-hand side, which we called "Santa Catalina", having an islet to the east of it and a bank to the south. Here the channel unites which comes from the sea-weed reefs near the snowy mountains, and a channel is formed over 4 leagues

in width. From point Santa Catalina, a bay, in the manner of a channel, turns S.W., and looks as if it parted the land, and it is true that it does part it.

Half a league to the N.E. of point Santa Catalina there is an islet, and to the south of it a reef above water, and between this islet and the point the channel is deep and navigable. Round the point, close to it on the S.W., there are some little bays suitable for brigantines and boats.

Three leagues beyond, to the E.S.E., a point runs out with high land. We went there to pass the night. On this day there were great changes in the weather. It began clear with a very hot sun; presently it clouded over, with a northerly breeze, and afterwards it fell calm. At noon the wind began to blow from the south and raised a sea. We found the currents sometimes south and at others north, according to winds and tides. The part of the channel we traversed, from the bays near Santa Catalina to the hill where we passed the night, has a length of four leagues. We called it the "Hill of the New Year,"[1] because we arrived there on New Year's eve. On the day of the circumcision of Jesus Christ, we set up two crosses on the point of the hill, and Pedro Sarmiento took possession for his Majesty, in presence of the Pilots Anton Pablos and Hernando Lamero, and the rest of the boat's crew.

The multitude of islands and broken lands continues to this point, where we came on the snow mountains of the main land which come down to the sea here.[2] It is to be noted that there is a better channel between the snowy mountains of the main land and the islets that are between Santa Catalina and the reefs of the sea-weed beds. It is true that we did not pass down this channel, but we saw

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[1] In 52° 8′ S. on the chart.

[2] On the chart they have been named "Cordillera of Sarmiento" (snow capped), from 51° 34′ to 52° 10′ S., long. 73° 30′ W.

both ends of it where they unite with the channel down which we went. The front of this hill of the New Year, on the north side looking towards the snowy mountains, runs east and west from point to point about half a league. Here the inlets and beaches of pebbles form a curve. From the place where we set up the crosses, N.W. about two cables, there is a small islet, and the channel between it and the main land is deep and clean, suitable for the passage of ships.

At the S.E. of this beach of the crosses, at a distance of two leagues, there runs out into the channel the snow-topped chain of the main land. Near the sea there was a white patch on it like snow, which is a waterfall making foam, and there are many such about here. From the middle of the snow upwards there is a great patch of very blue snow, resembling turquoise.

This hill of the New Year, from the east, curves round to S.E. and S.S.E. for a league as far as the first ravine, down which a river descends from the summit, and east of this river a large opening appears about two leagues off. We went there, and found it to be a bay without any outlet,[1]

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[1] *Ensenada sin salida*, p. 142 of Spanish edition. On the Admiralty Chart there is *Ancon sin salida* in 52° 14′ S., and 73° 20′ W. "The mountain of *Año nuevo* cannot be mistaken; indeed the whole of the coast is so well described by the ancient mariner (Sarmiento) that we have little difficulty in determining the greater number of places he visited. In all cases we have, of course, preserved his names."—(*Voyage of Adventure and Beagle*, i, p. 262.) The *Ensenada sin salida* was found, by Captain King's surveyors, to extend so far into the interior, that the most minute investigation of the numerous sounds and channels was made, in the perfect conviction of finding a communication with Skyring Water. But after a patient, minute, and laborious survey, Lieut. Skyring was obliged to give up the search and return. The farthest bay was called Obstruction Sound, and the whole labyrinth of channels forms one of the most remarkable geographical features in this part of South America.—*R. G. S. J.*, i, p. 164.

which ends with a turn to the north a league further on. As we were embayed, we went back by the way we came, and were much annoyed. This gulf has four islets which form channels, and the bay, westward from the islets, forms beaches of sand for more than a league and a half, as far as the high hill of the New Year. Here there is a beach curving round to the hill, whither we went this same day, which was Friday, the 1st of January 1580. We passed the sleeping place at a distance, and went to a bay westward by the hill, which we also found to be without an outlet. Here we passed the night. It is a beach, with a low land behind, flat, and liable to be overflowed. In this bay there are eighteen deep inlets. On this coast there is much sea-weed, and where it is met with the water is shallow. It should be avoided whenever it is seen.

On Saturday, the 2nd of January, we left this bay and went to another, which was a little more than a league to the west, also low land, except the point between them. Here Sarmiento sent two men up a very high mountain to report whether the sea was in sight or the channel on the other side to the west, but they could not see anything. We entered this bay, and left it to go to another near it, and saw that they were all without outlets. Pedro Sarmiento and Hernando Lamero, the Chief Pilot of the *Almiranta*, then climbed up a very high mountain to survey land and sea. Towards the west, over the land, they saw a wide and straight arm of the sea running N.N.W.—S.S.E. We called this mountain the "Mountain of Prayer", because here we commended ourselves to God and set up a cross, and Pedro Sarmiento took possession for his Majesty. Climbing up still higher they discovered a bay, which forms the aforesaid arm, and counted in it thirty-three islands, large and small. All round there were many bays and channels, apparently narrow. After the bay, where we left the boat, the mountains form an inlet where an arm of the

sea unites with another on this side, so that a boat could pass ; the distance between them being about an arquebus shot. Anton Pablos passed from one to the other while we were ascending the mountain.

On this day, Saturday, there was a north wind, and such a dense fog, that we who were on the mountain, though close together, could not see each other, and we found each other by taking a bearing with a compass. In all these days we experienced heavy rains and great cold, and at night it gave us much trouble to make a fire, and to warm ourselves we got into the fire and burnt our clothes and shoes without feeling it, for in no other way could we have continued to live. The sailors suffered more especially, for the poor fellows arrived wet and tired with rowing, and without the means of changing their clothes ; for the boat, being small, there was no room for spare clothing, and very little for the provisions. For we always had to be very careful in serving them out, and this time more so than ever, endeavouring to eke them out with shell fish and sea-weed. Often we could not find any, as when we came to a rough coast, which they do not frequent except in sheltered places ; and on those days when we were in the open sea we could not collect these shells although they were there. All this night there was much rain, and it was very cold, because the wind was west.

On Wednesday, the 3rd of January, we departed from this bay of the "Prayer". It blew from the west very cold, turning to N.W., and raising such a sea that, after we had gone about a league, by the exertion of tremendous force and much labour on the part of the sailors who were pulling, we were obliged to run before it, to seek some shelter, that we might not be swamped and perish. We ran in behind a reef which just gave the shelter of the rocks until the first fury of the blast should be expended. We called them the "Peñas de Altura". But we were unable

to leave this shelter during the whole day, for the storm was such that even very large ships could not have faced it. Here we waited a day and a night.

On Monday, the 4th of January, the sea had gone down a great deal, although there were still violent storms from the W. and W.S.W. Nevertheless we set out, keeping close to the west coast, crossing the bays and openings from point to point, sometimes having the current with us, and sometimes against us. The labour of the sailors who pulled the oars was tremendous, and even as it was we often lost as much as we gained. We, however, with the favour of God, made seven leagues that day. It did not rain except in the morning, the drizzling showers coming with the cold W. and W.S.W. squalls.

On Tuesday, the 5th, we left the place where we had passed the night, and pulled, with much difficulty, by the north channel, entering another which turned to the west, between which and the Punta Larga there is an archipelego of many small islands as far as the point a league to the west, and between the two points there is a great bay, between which and the Punta Larga are many low-wooded islands. From this West Point[1] to another at a distance which we called "Punta de Mas al Oeste",[2] the distance is one league. This day was fine, with wind from N.W. to W.S.W., but as a rule the wind blows in the direction of the channels, so that although it was one wind, there appears to be a different one at the mouth of each channel, blowing in the direction of the channel.

From the West Point we discovered a curve in land and sea which we called "Archipelago", strewn with many little

[1] In 51° 32′ S. on the chart.

[2] In 51° 35′ S. on the chart, at the north end of an island twenty-four miles long, called Piazzi Island on the chart, between Sarmiento Channel, E, and Smyth Channel, W.—See *Voyage of Adventure and Beagle*, i, p. 260.

islets and rocks, which we judged to be ten leagues across. From this point a cape is in sight at a great distance to the west, which is the land continuous with the Cape of Santa Lucia, that we discovered from the open sea on our second boat voyage.

This Archipelago is in a circular bay, and from the West Point the coast trends for two leagues W.S.W., at the end of which distance there is the mouth of the channel[1] which we discovered from the Mountain of Prayer. From this West Point we navigated to the east[2] for three leagues, through the midst of the Archipelago, when we reached some little islets, where we passed the night among some rocks. There were many seals which did nothing all night but bellow like calves. We, therefore, named the place "Islas de Lobos".[3]

On Wednesday, the 6th of January, we left the Islas de Lobos and went for three leagues to a group of numerous small and large islands, to the north of which, near the outermost by which we passed, there is a reef surrounded by beds of sea-weed. When this sea-weed is seen, fly from it! From this point the "Hand of Judas" and the snowy mountain chain to the E.S.E. are in sight. Beyond the last of these islets there is a bluff greyish cape, to which we gave the name of "Nuestra Señora de la Victoria".[4] It is black, but has many patches striped with white on the side facing the archipelago, with thick woods lower down, the upper part being bare. To one who passes from the archipelago by this route the cape appears to be the last land towards the open sea in that direction. When in mid-channel Cape Victoria is on with another cape on the other

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[1] Entrance to Smyth's Channel? [2] West?

[3] In 51° 34′ to 51° 27′ S. on the chart, a chain of islets ten miles long S.W. to N.E.

[4] In 51° 37′ S. on the chart, and 74° 52′ W. long., about 2,100 feet high.

side, which we named the cape of "Nuestra Señora de las Virtudes",[1] N.E. and S.W. 5 leagues; and from the last island of the archipelago to Cape Victoria a league and a half.

From the island with the reef and bed of sea-weed we steered W.N.W. two leagues to a bay on the coast, and here we landed; because we had now opened the reach leading to the open sea, and saw the capes on either side, forming the entrance to the channel. Pedro Sarmiento, Hernando Lamero, and Anton Pablos, then went up a high mountain by a very bad road, being in danger of falling down precipices. From the top we took the bearings of all the capes and bays we could discern from that position. We named the mountain "San Jusepe", and from it we had a round of angles with the compass.

The Cape Victoria is N. by W. (S. by E.?) from the mountain of San Jusepe, distant two leagues, nothing that we observed between; and another cape beyond, bearing from San Jusepe, N.W. by N. (S.E. by E.?) was named "Santa Isabel".[2] The land of Cape Victoria is an island, there being a channel between it and Cape Santa Isabel, with many islets and reefs in the middle.

From the mountain of San Jusepe, the cape continuous with that of Santa Lucia, which we discovered during our second boat voyage, was W.S.W. 4 leagues. Between this cape and that of Santa Lucia there are two great bays, which contain many islets and reefs.[3]

Having made this survey, we went down the mountain by so rugged a descent that we were in danger of falling over a precipice at every step; but God delivered us from this danger as He had done from many others. To Him

[1] In 51° 31′ S. The channel between these two capes is called Nelson Strait on the chart.

[2] In 51° 50′ S. on the chart.

[3] In 51° 30′ S. on the chart, and 75° 23′ W.

be infinite thanks. Amen! As it was late before we got down to the bay, and we were wet through, we passed the night there. Here the pilots agreed that the chart plotted by Pedro Sarmiento, and his descriptions, were correct in every particular. On Thursday, the 7th, we left the bay of San Jusepe, and, in a great storm, we rowed towards the north east for six leagues, between islands and the main land, against wind and current, and with many showers of rain. We stopped for the night in a bay W.S.W. of the Cape of Las Virtudes.

On Friday, the 8th, we left this bay, and rowed round the Cape Las Virtudes with a strong north wind, heavy sea, great cold, and much rain. With great difficulty we got round, and found two large bays full of islets and rocks and broken land. Having rounded the point, we discovered another point two leagues to the N.E. by N., and between one point and the other there is a great bay with many islands. All the land is broken up with channels, and in every channel there is a different wind, generally blowing hard. It is a coast nearly all rocky, and the water deep with foul bottom. Here the direction of the channel, at mid-channel, is N.E. and S.W. This day it blew so hard from the north, with a heavy sea, rain, hail, and cold, that it was impossible to go forward, and to go back would be to lose much.

In order not to lose what it had cost us so much labour to gain, we determined to proceed with a reefed sail, and thus we went on an E.N.E. course for three leagues. We were then obliged to haul down the sail, and we began to row round a point, so as to find shelter from the storm and contrary current. With great strength of arm the good and valiant sailors stemmed the current and doubled a cape which a galley would have found it hard work to get round. As the gale continued to increase in force we were obliged to take refuge in a bay for the night.

On Saturday, the 9th, we departed from this place, which we called "Monte de Trigo",[1] because there was a hill overhanging it, which looked like a heap of corn. Before starting, we took the bearing of the channel of San Estevan,[2] which is the one we had left on the right hand at the Island of Two Channels. We then doubled the first point, which is a league from the bay, and which we named "San Blas". The Cape of Mercedes bears N.W. and S.E. from it. From the point of San Blas the channel and coast continue to another point, N. and S. one league, which we named "San Luis". Here the width of the channel is one league, and it has some islets more over on the east coast. From Cape San Luis the coast trends to N.W. and S.W.

About half a league N. by E. of Cape San Luis there is a high, rounded hill, with a patch of snow on the S.E. side which had the figure of an animal with four legs, as if it was browsing, and a fox's tail. For this reason we called the hill "Morro de la Zorra".[3] On the coast in front of it there is a bay with soundings in 30, 20, 15, and 10 fathoms—stony bottom. It is sheltered from north and south, and at the back, which in this part is towards the west. This day was so fine that we determined to proceed for a bit under sail. It blew from S. to S.W. and W., with cold rain showers and some hail. We reached an encampment three leagues to the south of the Island of Two Channels. During the night it rained and blew furiously from the north well into Sunday morning. We had met with many currents which had sometimes detained us,

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[1] *Voyage of Adventure and Beagle*, i, p. 264.

[2] On the chart in long. 74° 20′ W., lat. 50° 50′ to 51° 25′ S.

[3] Captain Fitz Roy's surveyors sought for some mark by which to recognise the "Monte de la Zorra". In the white part of the cliff they fancied some resemblance to an animal.—*Voyage of the Adventure and Beagle*, i, p. 265 (August 1829).

especially in rounding the points, while others helped us, according to the ebb and flow of the tide.

On Sunday, the 12th of January, in spite of the rainy weather, we set out with the men at the oars, for the rain beats down the sea. Presently it began to blow from N. and N.E., with much cold and rain, the current being against us. This was severe work for the sailors who pulled, even breaking their oars, without advancing a hand's breadth. It was hard to lose what had cost us so many drops of blood to gain, for by not being able to reach a port we were often in danger of being drowned. Besides this, we now had no provisions left, for the ten days were passed for which we had taken rations, and some of us now felt very weak and feeble. We could not even find shellfish, as they only thrive where there is shelter. Add to all this that the whole coast is steep to, and no soundings. In spite of all these drawbacks and hardships we that day reached some islets, and on one of them we saw two otters, one very fat, so that it could not get away.

Monday, the 11th of the month, began with fair weather. We started from the sleeping place and made for the strait, a little after noon sighting Concepcion and Bermejo. We wanted to reach the island of Los Innocentes[1] with calm weather, but as it was still distant it would be late. As the tide and wind served we made sail, but suddenly it blew from the S.W. and W.S.W., and the sea rose so that a large ship would have sought a harbour, if there was one. But we, although we wished to take shelter, could not do so without peril of our lives, and to reach the island was impossible. We therefore commended ourselves to God, and, confident in his pity, we ventured to cross the gulf of Concepcion to the other side, the pilots watching the seas, sometimes luffing up, at others easing off the sheets and

[1] On the chart in 50° 32′ S. and 74° 51′ W.

running, while the sailors bailed out the water which the waves poured into the little boat, which was safeguarded by our Lady of Guidance, whose name had been given to it. By her favour we arrived, before dark, in a bay which is N.E. of Hocico de Caiman. At sunset the sailors, after eating a meagre mouthful, determined to go that night to the ships, the distance being scarcely a mile. Taking the oars they reached Hocico de Caiman, and in doubling the point we encountered such wind and sea that it was impossible to proceed. As the night was now advanced, we went back to shelter round the point, where, feeling our way like the blind, we found a sheltering heap of stones, where we made a fire and passed the night.

Tuesday, the 12th of the month, we departed in fair weather, as there generally is at early morning, and arrived, God helping, at the port of Bermejo, where we found our companions in good health. They had completed the brigantine, all having worked very well at it. We rejoiced, one party with another, because the one thought that something had happened to the other. As the weather had been so bad, those in the ships feared that some heavy sea might have swamped the boat, and they were thinking of going in search of us as they ought. But there was a difficulty because the Admiral and some of those on board the *Almiranta* said that they would go, while Hernando Alonso, the Pilot, said "No!" that he would go. For he understood that those of the *Almiranta* had no other intention than to go out in the brigantine to any place they chose, whence to return in two days and say that the General was lost, and go back to Chile. This would have been an evil thing, injurious to the service of God our Lord and of your Majesty. Having arrived this day, their wicked intention did not take effect.

It is worthy of notice by those who may come this way, that their ships ought to be well supplied with anchors and

cables, for they are very necessary in this country ; seeing that the sea is very deep, and that there are many squalls of wind and very heavy gales, as well as cross currents. For each channel throughout this archipelago has its current. In this third boat voyage we suffered very great hardships, the chief trouble being that we did not find secure harbours nor clear channels through which to take the ship. We, however, achieved much in discovering the outlet to the sea by the south of Cape Santa Lucia.[1] But Pedro Sarmiento held for certain that, by the other outlet, we should have come out in the strait, which was what we sought.[2]

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[1] Now called Nelson Strait on the chart.

[2] That is before he reached the "Ensenada sin salida", which destroyed his hopes.

VII.

Voyage to the Strait of Magellan.—Desertion of the "Almiranta".

PEDRO SARMIENTO, having returned to the ships with the pilots and his other companions, he visited the bread rooms and provision holds of the ships, for it had been reported to him that there had been disorder in his absence. Especially the Admiral had ordered the rations of bread for the soldiers to be increased. It had been 10 ounces, and he caused it to be increased to 1 pound for those who remained in the ship, without considering the future, or showing respect for the misery that Sarmiento and his companions were enduring in the boat.

It was known, from what transpired afterwards, that the sole object of Juan de Villalobos was to consume and make an end of the provisions quickly, so that we might be obliged to return to Chile, with the excuse that they returned for want of food, and that they could not go on without it. Thus he sought to make friends at the cost of the lives of those who were away working, that they might help in his evil schemes, as it afterwards became known. Pedro Sarmiento, learning that there had been undue consumption of provisions on board the *Almiranta*, inspected her, and put right what was amiss. He entrusted the keys, which the dispenser and storekeeper had kept, to one single person, namely the Chief Pilot, that the distribution might be made under his hand, and that he might have charge of the keys in serving out the rations. On board the *Capitana* he disrated the Purser, Juan de Sagasti,[1] for seditious con-

[1] His pay was stopped, and he was finally turned adrift at Santiago (Cape Verdes) on the way home.

duct, and for not taking proper care of the provisions, and appointed another more diligent and faithful dispenser[1] in his place. He then ordered a return to the former scale of rations. For it is much more worthy that they should say "Here such an one suffered hunger but did his duty to God and the King", than that they should say, "he consumed the victuals in a disorderly way, and did not perform the duty on which he was sent."

There were seditious murmurs against this reform, which afterwards reached a dangerous point. But, finally, it was enforced, for it concerned the good and safety of all. Sarmiento was always determined to die or do his duty with the help of our Lord Jesus Christ and his most blessed mother St. Mary. With this object, seeing the length of the road that lay before him, he made the best arrangements possible according to the understanding which God had given him, turning a deaf ear to foolish words.

In this port Pedro Sarmiento made a meridian line on the ground, and regulated the compasses, greasing and repairing them, for in the bad and moist weather they had received much injury. It is a notice for all, that those which were well greased never turned east or west of N., beyond that half point that the steel in fluctuating varies from the *fleur-de-lys*. It is the belief of men with little experience that there is north-easting and north-westing when the needle is well greased and adjusted. If any defect is found in the needle which makes it seem to turn in that way, the secret is not that, and can be remedied. It

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[1] This appears to have been a sailor named Angel Baltolo, who is called "Dispensero" in the list given in the Act of Possession at the river San Juan. He could not write, for he is not among those who signed at the end of the voyage, although he is in the list of those who came home.

is not from that supposed cause, but it is learned by habitual experience.[1]

It was said above that when Sarmiento arrived at Puerto Bermejo for the first time he took possession for his Majesty, but it was forgotten to relate that afterwards he went through the ceremony again before the Notary, when the fleet was anchored here, whose testimony is as follows :—

"Possession of the Puerto Bermejo.

"On the 27th day of the month of December, being the day of St. John the Evangelist, of this present year 1579, the illustrious Lord General Pedro Sarmiento, this royal fleet being anchored in the Puerto Bermejo de la Concepcion de Nuestra Señora, in presence of me the undersigned Notary and the usual witnesses, said :—That although on the 26th of the month of last November, having come on a boat voyage of discovery with the pilots Anton Pablos and Hernando Lamero, with other persons, he had taken and took possession of this port and district ; yet as at that time there was no Notary present who could testify to it, and as now there is, he said : that he took and takes, seized and seizes real and valid possession of this the said port, to which he had given and gives the name of Puerto Bermejo de la Concepcion de Nuestra Señora, and of all its territories, channels, gulfs, ports, and bays, and navigable waters, and places, and puts them under the dominion, lordship, and proprietorship of the very Catholic and very Powerful Lord Don Philip II, King of Castille and Leon and their dependencies, and of his heirs and successors, as a thing

[1] In other words, Sarmiento did not believe in the variation of the compass, but held that when the needle deviated from the north point, it was due to some mechanical and remediable cause.

Burney, however, gives reasons for the conclusion that there was no variation at Puerto Bermejo in the time of Sarmiento. Sir John Narborough found it to be 14° E. in 1670, in this neighbourhood, increasing 1° in eleven years. There would be no variation in 1516, and only 4° in 1579 ; which would be too small an error for Sarmiento to detect with his rough instruments. It would seem that he was led to doubt the existence of variation by having found no variation in this locality.

which belongs to them, which really and truly is their own, being within and included in the demarcation of the 180° which is within their rights of discovery and conquest according to the Bull of the Most Holy Father Pope Alexander VI as in it is more fully set forth. The said possession was taken without opposition from the natives of the said land, nor from any others. In sign of possession he set up a great wooden cross on the reef of rocks of the said Puerto Bermejo, and made a great heap of stones at the foot of it, in which all present gave their help. Of which he asked all present that they would be witnesses; and that I, the said Notary, would bear testimony publicly in the accustomed form, so as to guard the regal rights, that this port is in 50° 30′ latitude, S. of the equator. There were present as witnesses the Admiral Juan de Villalobos, the Father Vicar Friar Antonio Guadamiro, the Ensign Juan Gutierrez de Guevara, and the Sergeant Major Pascual Suarez. To all which I give faithful and true testimony, dated as above. Pedro Sarmiento before me—Juan Desquibel—Royal Notary."

As there was nothing to detain us, the brigantine being completed, and it was necessary to decide by which route the ships could be taken with most safety and the strait discovered with most certainty, Pedro Sarmiento called together the Admiral and Pilots to consider the matter, to whom he made the following address:—

"In this port of 'Bermejo de la Concepcion', on Sunday, the 17th of January 1580, the illustrious Lord Pedro Sarmiento, General of this fleet of the Strait of Magellan, caused to assemble on board this ship, the *Capitana*, the Chief Pilot Hernando Lamero, and the pilots of this ship, the *Capitana*, Anton Pablos and Hernando Alonso, in presence of me, the undersigned Notary, and being present assisting at it, the said Lord General and the Admiral Juan de Villalobos, he submitted to them that, as they well knew, he had set out three times in boats, to discover the coasts and channels of this region of land and sea, from the port of Rosario, which is in 50° as far as 52° S., to seek for a safe passage, and ports by which these two ships of his Majesty might be taken with the least risk possible, in order to discover the Strait, on which service they were sent by the most excellent Lord

Don Francisco de Toledo, Viceroy of Peru ; and that the said Pilots Hernando Lamero and Anton Pablos, pilots of the said ships, had seen and known by the use of their own eyes the advantages and disadvantages of the routes by the channels and archipelago, or by the open sea ; as prudent persons they are charged to state their opinions, before God and on their consciences, which route of the two appeared to them the best for taking the ships in search of the said strait, and on what day it would be good to set out from here, for it would be put into execution in conformity with what appeared to them best.—Pedro Sarmiento."

"Reply of the Chief Pilot.

"Presently the said Hernando Lamero answered and said as follows in reply to what the Lord General had asked :—'That your worship has been on three voyages of discovery, and has seen the channels and the risks there may be by one route or the other ; likewise he is a cosmographer, has been two months among that archipelago and those channels, and has seen and become experienced respecting them in that time ; and during eight or ten days in that port his worship has seen the differences there are in the weather, freezing and blowing from the S.W. : and by what his worship has said it appears that summer is approaching in this region, and that this season begins to prevail : which appears to me to be certain, from what we have seen from the time we came here until now of the differences in the weather there have been. I therefore say, and give it as my opinion, by virtue of what the General has ordered, and of what God has given me to understand, and on my conscience for the security of the people and of the fleet of his Majesty : that the brigantine should leave this port in search of the strait, and, having seen the opening of the said strait in 52° 30′, and seen some port within it, and noted the bearings, should come back to this port for the ships, and that the ships should then proceed by the open sea, and not by the archipelagos and channels because of the great diversity of channels and the rarity of anchorages in the channels which the General went to explore. If this should not appear good to your worship by reason of the waste of time or the objection to going far from the ships, or for any other reason, your worship might order the fleet to sail to-morrow, being Monday, if the

weather should serve for it, or on the first day that the weather serves by that channel which we know to be open to N.E.—S.E. near the Cape of Santiago, and go in search of the strait with the ships and brigantine trying the channels, the weather being favourable—that is, the channel in 52° 30′, and the weather not allowing it, to seek the channel in about 54°, and this was said as his opinion and signed with his name—Fernando Gallegos Lamero."

"Reply of Anton Pablos.

"And then the said Anton Pablos, pilot of this ship *Capitana*, incontinently spoke. He gave it as his opinion that the ships ought to go by the channel for greater security, moving from port to port until they reached the strait, working on the experience of the weather that had been acquired from the first arrival until to-day. This showed that there is great diversity of weather, so that the sun could be very seldom taken, and little coast could be examined during the second exploring voyage, with very dirty weather, many reefs, no ports, and the coast shut in by fogs. The strait must be searched for as a thing not yet seen by the eyes. Yet as the sun cannot be observed very often there would be much risk for the ships, as on the first night of changing winds and mists there would be danger of losing the brigantine and all on board. Owing to these dangers it was his opinion, before God, and on his conscience, that we should go by the channel discovered to turn to the right ; and so he signed his name—Anton Páblos Corzo."

"Reply and Opinion of Hernando Alonzo, Pilot.

"Next, Hernando Alonso, Pilot of the ship *Capitana*, spoke as follows : that he had not seen the coasts and channels discovered during the boat voyages, but from what he had heard his opinion was that it would be good for the safety of the ships if we went by the channel turning to the left to the good port which is said to be there. Thence the brigantine might be sent to discover the said strait as far as 52° 30′, where it is said to be, and if it is not found within the 52° 30′ the ships should proceed to search for it further on. When found by the brigantine, the ships should be brought to the mouth of the strait. But, above all, he would subject his

opinion to that of the Lord General, as a man who had seen and gained experience of the country; and he signed—HERNANDO ALONSO—before me, JUAN DE ESQUIVEL, Royal Notary."

Having seen these opinions, Pedro Sarmiento considered that there were few ports in the channels, that if the weather was not favourable and moderate there would be danger from the cross currents and other obstacles, and that the ships should not be left at the mercy of people who were little disposed for hard work, and who might commit the folly of returning to Chile. He, therefore, resolved to proceed by the open sea. It is true that storms and dangers were to be feared, and with much reason. The sea in this region is the most stormy, and has the most violent winds that can be imagined, of all the seas that are navigated in the world. If by chance there is one fine day, presently there follow another and others, and eight or ten days more of stormy weather. At no time is there any certainty of good weather for more than the hour when it chances to be present.

Sarmiento came to his decision on the above grounds, but chiefly because there were those on board the *Almiranta*, especially the Admiral himself and Pascual Suarez the Serjeant-Major, who really wanted to return to Chile, under cover of a statement that they had scarcely any cables or anchors, and that what they had were chafed and injured, besides running short of provisions; while, by wintering in Chile, they could be re-victualled, so as to return to prosecute the discoveries the next summer. Although Sarmiento suspected all this, he was unable to prove it. Besides this, Lamero and the Admiral, at different times, suggested to Pedro Sarmiento that one ship should be left in Puerto Bermejo, while the other went to the strait. Sarmiento replied that he would do what his Excellency had ordered and what would be best, which was that both should proceed in company, so that one

should see the other, and so that they might help each other, especially that if an enemy was encountered they might have greater force with which to resist and attack him ; also if one ship was in danger, or if anything happened to one that the other might go on to Spain : for all which reasons it was necessary for the two ships to keep company. From what the Admiral said, Sarmiento suspected that he intended to desert with the rest of the people in his ship and abandon the discovery. He, therefore, thought that it would be the best course, to avoid greater evils, to go to sea with the ships, although he foresaw the bad weather.

So we departed from Puerto Bermejo with the two ships and the brigantine, on Thursday, the 21st of January 1580. The Pilot Hernando Alonso, six seamen, and a soldier, went in the brigantine. We started with a N.W. wind, which is a furious and persistent one ; but to go out it is necessary to have a N., N.W., or West wind, and these are so furious that whenever any one of them blows there is a storm.

We went down the channel to the S.W. as far as the point of Santiago, and as we should then be in the open sea, where there are usually gales of wind, we gave a tow rope to the brigantine so as not to lose her, and thus she followed astern of the *Capitana*. Presently the *Capitana* began to luff,[1] standing out to avoid the reefs of the Roca Partida, which are numerous and run far out to sea, and to double the cape of Santa Lucia, where Pedro Sarmiento had ordered the Admiral to wait, so that we might join company in that bay. Late in the afternoon the wind began to blow from the W.N.W. and N.W. with such fury, and raised such a sea, that it was fearful to behold. We could not hold our own in spite of all our efforts, and expected every moment to be our last. The *Almiranta*

[1] *Ir a orza.*

began to make for the land, where she could not fail to be in danger from the rocks on that coast, contrary to the orders from the Captain-Superior, while she might perfectly have followed the motions of the *Capitana* by going on the other tack and standing out to sea, which was the safest course. At nightfall it blew still more furiously, and the *Capitana* was careful to show a light for the *Almiranta* that she might follow and not be lost sight of, the *Almiranta* answering with another light, which was seen astern from time to time, and seemed to indicate that she was making for cape Santiago or for Puerto Bermejo.[1] On board the *Capitana* they went in great anxiety and danger, calling on God our Lord, on His most blessed Mother, and on the Saints, that they would intercede for us with our Lord Jesus Christ, so that He might have mercy upon us.

The wind still increased, and the little sail we had shown on the foremast had been blown to pieces, so that we had no small sail for running, and showed no sail on the foremast. The seas came in on one side and washed out on the other, making clean sweeps from stern to bow, so that there was nothing that had not been under water.

As the brigantine was small, and the ship gave many great lurches at each blow from the sea, she was in the greatest danger, and those on board cried out for help from the ship, so that it gave us great grief to hear their shouts and sorrowful words, especially when the darkness precluded our giving help, without the risk of being lost ourselves. We tried to encourage them from the ship, saying that it would soon be daylight, when we would take them on

[1] Lopez Vaz says that the *Almiranta* went south as far as 58°, being a degree further than Sir Francis Drake went. She then abandoned her consort, and made the best of her way back to Callao. Argensola tells a tale of treachery perpetrated by the people of the *Almiranta* on the natives, at the island of Mocha, off the coast of Chile.—*Argensola*, p. 120.

board the ship. As soon as it was day the ship was hove to, and the sail shortened under circumstances of great danger, in order to succour the people in the brigantine. By working the windlass to which the tow rope was made fast, the brigantine was brought up alongside, when the heavy seas dashed her against the ship's side so that we feared we should founder from the blows. For a moment we thought this had happened, for a sailor came up from below saying that we were stove in, and that the pump would not suck, because the water was stopped somewhere in the bread-room. At first this was believed, and caused much alarm among many, until the state of affairs was examined, and it turned out not to be so. Then all recovered their presence of mind, commending themselves to our Lady of Guadalupe. We registered a vow to make a present of wax to her holy house. Then we began to throw ropes, planks, and floats to the people in the brigantine, for them to make themselves fast and be hauled on board the ship. But as the sea was very high, and the rolling of the ship threatened to swamp the brigantine (for in this there was greater danger than from the waves) none of them could get hold of the ropes or floats. Those on board the ship shouted to them, and told them to commend themselves to God who would save them. This they did. One of the sailors, named Pedro Jorge, jumped overboard and got hold of the ship's rudder. In throwing him a rope from the poop cabin, he made a false attempt, the end slipped from him, and he was drowned. Of the others, some made fast round their head, the rest round their waists, and all, half dead, were at length hauled on board, saved by our Lord Jesus Christ, to whom be infinite thanks. Some came on board much bruised by the blows they had received. Hernando Alonso escaped by a miracle. He was under the keel of the brigantine, and God preserved him through His mercy. This was on the

morning of Friday, and all that day the wind continued to increase, sometimes from the north, at others from the west, which raised such a sea that she could not rise to the waves. We were thus in still greater danger because being near the land, we could not run before it, which is what we are accustomed to, in flying from a tempest on our beam. But if we had now run before it, we should have been on shore in a very short time, where we should have been lost. We dared not keep close to the wind so as to keep off the shore, as the ship was not very safe when the seas were on her beam. So we went with very little sail, going free so as to keep her under control. In all this Anton Pablos worked like a very good pilot, and a very careful and vigilant man, without resting day or night But besides the hard work there was the wet and the great cold, from which the sailors suffered very much, and it almost came to a point when they would succumb. But God showed us His favour, and made them stout men and true, and hard workers, attending to what the pilot ordered with alacrity. The storm lasted all Friday and during the night, after which God, in His most sacred mercy, appeased the wind, and we sighted land to the eastward on Saturday morning, the 23rd of January, at a distance of less than three leagues. It was a place where there were many rocks and reefs, so that, if God had not given us light, it would have been impossible to escape. Approaching the land, we found it to be an island, and called it "Santa Ines", because we sailed from Puerto Bermejo on her day.

It then fell calm, which caused us alarm, because we were very near the land, and the swell coming from the W.S.W. which the storm had left, threatened to send us on the rocks. We commended ourselves to the Holy Ghost, the Comforter, and the most glorious Mother of God, who suddenly through her mercy sent us a fair wind, light and clear, with which we were taken out of danger, and enabled

to double the cape of the island of Santa Ines. We called it the Cape of "Espiritu Santo", in memory of the mercy shown to us. As soon as we were within the cape and island of Santa Ines, Pedro Sarmiento recognised that we were 18 leagues to the north[1] of the Cape of Santa Lucia, which we had discovered in the second and third boat voyages, and the N.E.-S.E. channel of the archipelago, discovered during the third voyage.

In rounding Cape Espiritu Santo there clearly appeared a wide channel leading S.E. As we were anxious to find a place to anchor, we chose the first bay we saw, about two leagues within the channel, where we anchored in 15 fathoms. We called this the Bay of Mercy,[2] seeing that our Lord God had saved us from such dangers as we had passed through during the storm. That night we were like deaf men in the fine weather, but it did not last long, for on Sunday morning there arose such a gale of wind, with a corresponding sea, that the sea would assuredly have swallowed us up, if we had been outside. Presently we began to drag our anchors. In order to get more shelter from the land, we wanted to warp the ship in, but the work of laying out the hawsers was such that the force of the sailors and the voices of those who gave the orders were quite exhausted by the cold and wet, and the bruises they received. The gale was such that for eight days the ship remained in this position, never once abating to enable us to warp into shelter, so that here, more than out at sea,

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[1] Should be south? Cape S. Lucia, 51° 31′ 30″ S.; Cape Espiritu Santo, 52° 42′ S.; a difference of latitude of 72 miles, or just 18 of Sarmiento's leagues. Cape Espiritu Santo is the Cape Pillar of modern charts. Pigafetta says that Magellan named it Cape Deseado. The Admiralty Chart has both Cape Pillar and Cape Deseado, two miles apart. Fuller, Cavendish's Pilot, gives 53° 10′ S. as the latitude of Cape Deseado.

[2] Five miles within Cape Pillar, on the Admiralty Chart. 52° 46′ 30″ S., 74° 37′ W.

we looked upon our destruction as certain. Yet by the favour of the most holy Mother of God we were enabled to warp in close to the land, and there was fine weather at the end of the eight days, being the 30th of January.

On Sunday, the 31st of January, Pedro Sarmiento, with the pilot Anton Pablos, set out in a boat, and went to the mountain at half a league's distance from the Bay of Mercy. They climbed to the top, whence they saw and took the bearings of a large channel running S.E., with many large islands, islets, and rocks from E. to N.E. Sarmiento took possession, and returned to the ship. This Bay of Mercy is in 52° 30′ S.,[1] and has good holding ground of white clay, so that it was only with great labour that we could start the anchors out of the ground in this port. There are many beds of sea-weed, and three islets together to the north, which help in giving shelter, if the vessel is anchored well in. There is a cove to the westward, whence come squalls which raise the sea, and send out what look like clouds of smoke.

This Sunday there was an eclipse of the moon. Sarmiento observed it, and the night was clear. The moon appeared to the east in its contact with the sun, and when it came out, it was round and quite clear of the eclipse, although we could see the redness and black colour in the heavens when it began to appear on the eastern horizon, and to come clear of the eclipse. To a certain extent it was possible to judge of the point when the eclipse ended, though not with such precision as if it had been seen clearly and exactly: and if credit may be given to the observation, we may deduce from it that the meridian of this port is to the west of that of Lima. The amount of the difference I will mention further on.[2]

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[1] 52° 46′ 30″, on the chart, 74° 37′ W.

[2] In his book on navigation, which never saw the light.

On Monday, the 1st of February 1580, Pedro Sarmiento went into the boat with Anton Pablos and some sailors to discover a channel and harbour, and they were surveying until noon for three leagues to the S.E., where the coast of this island makes a curve to the S. We then entered a bay, and went up a high mountain with compass and chart, whence we took a round of angles, seeing many bays. Pedro Sarmiento, from that height, saw the channel for upwards of ten leagues S.E. Thence, after taking possession, we returned to the ship, and on our way back we found many beds of sea-weed which had come to the surface during the fine weather. We sounded, and found that some of them were dangerous. In short, under any circumstances, whenever beds of sea-weed are seen, they should be avoided. Some may have six, others ten fathoms, others much less under them. Even when they are not so shallow as to make the ship touch, there is great danger of the rudder being entangled. Indeed, some of the branches are so strong that they might unship the rudder, if the ship was going before a fresh breeze. Therefore avoid them, like any other danger.

When we returned to the ship, we found that one of the soldiers, named Bonilla, had attempted to raise a serious mutiny. The General had him arrested, and he was punished in a way most conducive to the service of his Majesty.[1] It was then stated how the *Almiranta* had responded to the light shown at midnight.

In all this time that we had been in this Bay of Mercy

[1] Not with death, for Christoval Bonilla, a soldier, is in the list of those on board, in the Act of Possession at the river San Juan. He is not in the final list: so he probably formed one of the crew of the little vessel *Concepcion*, sent by Sarmiento from Santiago (Cape Verde) to Nombre de Dios, with news for the Viceroy of Peru.

Lopez Vaz says that there was a mutiny, "whereupon, hanging one, Sarmiento proceeded on his voyage for Spain" (*Hakluyt*, vol. ii). But he is clearly mistaken. No one was hanged on this occasion.

the *Almiranta* never came, nor had we any news or sign of her. All the work and trouble passed through in this place, and which has been described, and much more that has not been mentioned, were suffered, not so much for ourselves but in order to wait for the *Almiranta* in accordance with the orders which Pedro Sarmiento had given to the Admiral, that whoever should arrive first at the entrance to the strait was to wait fifteen days for the other, and if she did not arrive, to exercise his own judgment. Some said that she had struck on the rocks of the Roca Partida, because she was seen making for them under full sail. Others declared that it had been arranged maliciously and in concert that they should part company and lose sight of the *Capitana;* and this was affirmed by the greater number. More credit was given to this opinion, after hearing what those who were in the brigantine had to say, and after the views of some others had been considered. From this evidence, what was gathered is that the Admiral, Juan de Villalobos, intended to return to Chile and Lima, and concerted this sedition jointly with Pascual Suarez, the Sergeant-Major, and others of the ship *Almiranta.* The Admiral said that if Pedro Sarmiento wanted to be drowned, he did not wish to be drowned, but to live and to return to Chile. On going to sea, each one could go where he pleased, he said, which clearly explained what had since happened. Pascual Suarez had said that he would make Pedro Sarmiento return to Chile by letting him understand that he could there fill up with provisions anew, and go back to the discovery. But that when they were off the coast of Chile they would make a requisition to the General not to touch there, so as not to waste more of his Majesty's revenue, and that thus they would get back to Lima. Lamero, the pilot, had said, with reference to returning, that he would ask Pedro Sarmiento for the forge, and that with it they would go to where there are negroes and

mulattos, and make themselves very prosperous. Others said, "Where could you go with that object, unless to China?" and he answered, "Yes, thither." It is certain that these people acquitted themselves badly of the duty by which they were bound to our Lord God, and to his Majesty, who is their natural sovereign, Lord and King, as well as to their Viceroy, and to Pedro Sarmiento, their captain, who had shown them friendship, and done much for them.

It can only be said that their desertion was a very great evil. Of the rest our Lord God and your Majesty will judge, to whom it is incumbent to relate these things.

Seeing that the *Almiranta* did not come, and that the Bay of Mercy was not a safe port, having been there ten days, it appeared desirable to go with the ship to another port which we had discovered three leagues further up the strait, and which seemed a better port, and there we could complete the fifteen days in accordance with the orders. This was determined because the Captain Pedro Sarmiento was perfectly convinced that this was the strait of which they were in search; although the rest did not share this conviction, but were very doubtful and incredulous. If some agreed with Sarmiento when he encouraged them to believe that this was the strait, it was only in his presence, but afterwards each man spoke what was in his heart. Respecting this, rigour was not desirable, but rather toleration, for the poor fellows, both soldiers and sailors, had gone through much hardship and suffering.

Chart of the

WEST HALF OF

MAGELLAN STRAIT

to illustrate

SARMIENTO'S VOYAGE

1580.

Names of Sarmiento written full strength.
Modern names written half strength.
Heights in English feet above sea level.

J. S. Walker ERGS

VIII.

In the Strait of Magellan.

On the 2nd of February, which was the feast of our Lady of La Calendaria, we got under weigh, and, in getting up one of the anchors, we carried away the cable. We made sail from the Port of Mercy to follow the channel S.E., and it came on to blow so hard from the north that we had to take in the main sail. As the day advanced it blew harder, and we got the boat inboard. At last, a little after noon, we reached the port which we had discovered the day before, and which the Captain-Superior named "Nuestra Señora de la Candelaria". In coming to, the anchor fouled, and we let go another, which also fouled. In that instant the wind began to blow so furiously that two strands of the larger and lesser cables parted. In order that it might not carry away altogether, the pilot, Anton Pablos, slacked it off by hand, and buoyed it. The ship remained holding by a small hawser, of which two strands went, and only two remained sound, each one of the thickness of a man's thumb. These, with the help of the most sacred Virgin Mother of God, our Lady of Guadalupe, held the ship, so that it did not go broadside on to the rocks, in which case we should have been lost, a very large cable not having been able to hold us, which before and afterwards had held us in very heavy gales. We all looked upon it as a miracle that God and His most blessed Mother dealt thus with their sinful servants, who called upon them from their hearts, and saved them. We give them infinite thanks for ever, Amen. We held this event to be so important, that we kept the small cable to be offered in the temple of the most serene

Queen of the Angels, that he who sees it may praise her for the mercies shown to the creatures of his most precious son, the true God our Lord. Finally, we secured the ship more in shore, at the cost of much labour on the part of the sailors and soldiers, who on all occasions worked together admirably, as was desirable.

On Wednesday, the 3rd of February, some Indians natives of the land, arrived, and cried out to us from a high hill above the port. We replied in the same way, and made signs, calling them. They set up a white flag, and we hoisted another. They then came down to the coast and we went to where they were. Pedro Sarmiento sent the ensign, and the Pilot Hernando Alonso, with only four men, that they might not take to flight on seeing many people. To those who went he gave *chaquiras*, or glass beads, bells, combs, earrings and rugs for them, so as to form friendship with them. Our people went, but the Indians did not dare to come to the boat. So one of our people came out of the boat alone, and he gave them the things that had been brought for them. They came to him when they saw that he was alone, and little by little they ventured near. Then the Ensign and Hernando Alonso landed and gave them more of the things that had been brought out for barter, showing them what each thing was used for, by signs. They were much delighted with them, and presently they showed to our people some little banners of linen, fastened to staves. These were narrow strips of Rouen,[1] Angeo,[2] and Hollands cloth ;[3] from which we supposed that they had communicated with people from Europe who had passed this way. Soon they themselves gave us to understand, without having asked them,

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[1] *Ruan*, a coarse kind of blanket.

[2] Coarse linen cloth made in Anjou, and called *angeo*.

[3] Coarse linen or hempen cloth for linings.

by signs that could not be mistaken, that towards the S.E. there had come, or had been, two ships with bearded people like us, and armed and dressed as we were. From this, and from the linen, we believed them, and suspected that the ships they spoke of must be those of the English who entered this way, in the previous year, under Francisco Draquez.[1] With this, and having made signs that they would return and bring us refreshments on another day, they went away. Our people returned to the ship, and gave an account of what had happened with the Indians to Pedro Sarmiento. He had seen it from the ship, which was near the shore, and judged it to be well done.

On the same day, in the afternoon, Pedro Sarmiento landed, and formally took possession of the land, of which the following testimony was taken :—

"Possession.

"On the island now newly named 'Santa Ines', this ship *Capitana*, having anchored in this port newly called 'Nuestra Señora de la Candelaria', because the arrival was on her festival: the illustrious Lord Pedro Sarmiento, General of this fleet, landed and took possession of this port, land, and its districts, without opposition from the natives, for the most Catholic and very powerful Lord Don Philip II, King of Spain and the Indies and their dependencies, our Lord and natural King, whom God preserve for many years, and for his royal crown, heirs and successors: in token of which possession he planted a cross which

[1] Sir Francis Drake's ships were the *Pelican*, afterwards called the *Golden Hind; Elizabeth; Marigold; Swan*, a fly-boat of 50 tons; and a pinnace of 15 tons, called the *Christopher*. Sailing from Plymouth on November 15th, 1577, Drake entered the Strait with the *Pelican*, *Elizabeth*, and *Marigold*, on August 24th, 1578, and sailed out into the Pacific on September 6th. It is recorded, in the narrative, that natives of mean stature were met with in a canoe, in the western part of the Strait. But Nuno de Silva, who was with Drake, says that no other natives were seen besides those in the canoe.

those who were present worshipped, being present as witnesses the Father Friar, Antonio Guadramiro, Vicar of this fleet, and Hernando Alonso, Pilot of this ship *Capitana*, and Geronimo de Arce del Arroya, one of the soldiers, and Pedro de Bahamonde, in presence of me the undersigned Notary, touching which I give faith and true testimony, that in all time and in all parts faith may be kept for the just right of the very high and very powerful and catholic Lord the King of Castile and Leon; and the said Possession he took as a thing that belongs by right to the royal crown of the said Lords Kings, insomuch as it falls within their jurisdiction and boundary; of all which I give faith, as the saying is, the date of the letter of possession being the 3rd of February 1580. PEDRO SARMIENTO: before me, JUAN DE ESQUIVEL, Royal Notary."

"ANOTHER TESTIMONY.

"Further, I, Juan de Esquivel undersigned, give faith and testimony that on the said day, month, and year above stated, native Indians appeared in this port, on a mountain adjacent to the said port, and by shouts and signs sought from the people of this *Capitana*, according to what was understood, that they should come there, as they wanted to communicate with them. And Pedro Sarmiento, General, sent the Ensign Juan Gutierrez de Guevara and five soldier mariners in the boat, that they might speak with them and give them some presents. These went and spoke with them in a friendly way, and gave them what they brought; and according to what was understood from the signs they made, they gave us to understand that they had seen two other ships with people who had beards and daggers like the said Ensign. To this credit was given because they had with them certain narrow strips of linen, of Rouen, with hemming and back stitching according to our use, which they could not have got in any other way but from the people and ships they had seen in the strait. Which said linen I, the said Notary, saw and held in my hands, and I hereby give faith and testimony respecting it. Date as above. JUAN DE ESQUIVEL, Royal Notary."

This day it was fair weather, and in the night it blew hard. On Friday, the 5th of February, the dawn came with fair weather, and with wind from the W. and S.W.—a

clear day, but with some hail. At noon the Indians came as they had promised, and Pedro Sarmiento sent the Ensign and Hernando Alonso on shore with six men and some things for bartering with them, with instructions to take some one, if possible, from whom to learn the language, and to inform us of the things relating to the country, and of what they knew respecting the two ships they had seen. Our people went, and as the Indians were not inclined to approach, the same signs were made to them as before. When our people saw that they did not wish to come nearer, nor to come to the ship to give us news, six of our men were sent to them, and each two of ours seized one of the Indians, so that we caught three. They kicked and struggled to get away, but did not succeed, although they are very strong. Our men did not wish to hurt them, although they received several blows from the Indians in their attempts to get free. They were brought on board the ship, where the General treated them very lovingly, giving them food. They ate and drank, and were so well regaled that they lost their fear and anger, and laughed. Asking them, by signs, about what they had said the day before, and showing them the strips of linen, they pointed out a bay where those had been who gave them these things. They said the strangers were bearded, and had two ships like ours; that they carried arrows and partesans, one showing a wound, and another two wounds that they had received in fighting with them.[1]

In this port Pedro Sarmiento was more disturbed in spirit than in all his former work, because he saw all his

[1] There is no mention of any encounter with the natives in the narratives of Drake's voyage. The English only saw one canoe of natives. Argensola adds that the natives told Sarmiento that they killed many English, and captured a woman and a boy, who lived with them (*Conquista de las Islas Molucas*, p. 121). This is all false: the natives must have been entirely misunderstood.

people so tired and exhausted by so many hardships that they were all downhearted about the discovery of the strait, being now, as in fact they were, within it. As the cables we had left were small and chafed, and cut to pieces, it seemed, judging of the weather we had experienced hitherto, as if we should soon be without anchors or cables if we went on. In their talk among themselves they said that Pedro Sarmiento was taking them to drown them, and that he did not know where he was, and that it would be better to return to Chile for repairs. But no one dared to say anything to Pedro Sarmiento, although he knew very well what was going on, and looked about for a remedy. Things presently came to such a pass that the Pilots Anton Pablos and Hernando Alonso came into the cabin and said to Pedro Sarmiento that "they seemed to have done more than all the discoverers of the world in having reached so far; that the *Almiranta* had gone back, and that we were alone. If some danger overtook us we should have no remedy, and must perish where no one would ever know what became of us; that we have neither anchors, cables, nor cordage, and that the weather was so bad, as we had experienced, that it was impossible to go forward without expecting the destruction of us all at any moment. He thought, therefore, we ought to return to Chile, and so report to the Viceroy."

Anton Pablos said this in the name of both; and I suspected that all had asked them so to speak. All they said was certainly true, and all the men in the world would have feared the same if they had seen it. But Pedro Sarmiento had come to a determination, based on the reliance he had on God and on His most glorious Mother, to persevere until he had finally completed the discovery or laid down his life. He replied to Anton Pablos that "although they had done much in reaching that point, all would be nothing if we should return from there; that he was astounded that

they, being men of such valiant determination, should fail when they were most needed; that they should consider the favours God had shown them, and hope that He would not now abandon us, but that He would show still more. He added, that he spoke thus to them as a friend, and desired that no one would treat further of the matter." On this Hernando Alonso said to the General that "he saw clearly that what Anton Pablos had said was right, and that to persevere in going forward would be to tempt God". Not wishing longer to dissimulate, Sarmiento was minded to punish these words severely, but reflecting that the man spoke them simply and with a full heart, and solely from fear of being drowned, he merely replied: "I do not wish, nor do I design, to tempt God, but to rely on His mercifulness, while we do all that is possible with all our force, on our part. What Alonso had said was equivalent to doubting, but he would not discuss the matter further; and he would heavily punish any one who did so;" concluding with these words: "I have no more to say, except that presently we shall make sail." He did not proceed with more rigour at that time, for many reasons. This was on Friday at night, and therefore we could not make sail at once.

Next morning being Saturday, by the mercy of our Lord God, it dawned with fair weather and we left the port, having waited the fifteen days which the General had named in his order to the Admiral that the ship which should have arrived first at the mouth of the strait should wait, and, the time having passed, should continue the voyage to Spain, the other not coming, in conformity with the order of the Viceroy of Peru. Having left this port of Nuestra Señora de la Candelaria, we followed the channel for about a league S.E. by E., and on this course the natives made signs that in a bay we were passing the bearded people had been, whom we took to be the English of the preceding year;

and they were urgent that we should go there in the ship. We came near, and saw nothing but a bay to S.E., and three leagues further on there was the entrance to a clear port. Two leagues more S.E. and we saw a port to W., and further on a bay to S. Here the natives told us we should stop, for it was the place where the bearded men had taken in water. We entered this port at 3 o'clock in the afternoon. The tide flows here to the N.W. towards the South Sea, and more in the ebb than in the flood; so that with fresh breeze we stemmed the tide with difficulty. This port was named "Santa Monica".[1] Its soundings are 20 and 22 fathoms, good sandy bottom; and it is sheltered from all winds. The strait here has a width of three leagues, the reach extending from this port N.E. to an island which was named "Santa Ana";[2] which is the termination of the bay of San Geronimo.[2]

On Sunday, the 6th of February, we left this port of Santa Monica in the name of the most Holy Trinity, and with an E.N.E. wind and smooth sea we navigated the strait, keeping more on the right hand, which trends E.S.E. for about three leagues to the point which we named "San Ildefonso".[3] In the middle of this distance the coast forms a curving bay, and many creeks and inlets, where there appeared to be harbours. But we did not examine them, so as not to lose time. All this island is bare and rocky. The natives told us that the first bay was called Puchachailgua in their language, and the second was Cuaviguilgua.[4] Here it was, the natives said, that the bearded men

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[1] In 53° 2′ S., 73° 52′ W. on the Admiralty Chart

[2] These names have not been preserved.

[3] This name has not been retained.

[4] Sarmiento set an excellent example in retaining native names when he could ascertain them. Argensola mentions this with approbation:—"No mudo Sarmiento los nombres antiguos a las tierras, cuando los pudo saber."

fought with them, and they showed us the wounds they had received. The third bay, called Alguilgua[1] by the natives, is large and turns to the south. On the opposite coast, on the left hand to the N.E. the native name is Xaultegua.[2] To-day the day was fine and the sun clear. We observed the sun in 50° S. The bay called Xaultegua is in that latitude. From that bay of Xaultegua an entrance and arm of the sea goes inland to the roots of the snowy range of the main land. Two leagues to S.E. of the position where we took the sun's altitude, we anchored in a port which we called "Puerto Angosto":[3] soundings in 22 fathoms, clean bottom, a cable from the shore. On the same afternoon the General went up a hill with Anton Pablos and two other men, to examine the strait. They discovered a long reach to the S.E. by E. The sun was clear and warm, with light winds from W.N.W., the current against us. We saw many other creeks and bays both to windward and to leeward. It was very hot at the top of the hill, where they set up a cross, and Pedro Sarmiento took possession for his Majesty, in token of which he and Anton Pablos made a great heap of stones, on which the cross was fixed.

Another cross was set up on the top of another mountain by a man named Francisco Hernandez, who had been sent to explore.

During this night, at one o'clock, to the S.S.E. we saw a circular, red, meteor-like flame, in shape of a dagger, which rose and ascended in the heavens. Over a high mountain

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[1] In 53° 4′ 30″ S., and 73° 44′ W. on the Admiralty Chart.

[2] This name is preserved on the Admiralty Chart, for a great bay 25 miles long by 10 broad. The extreme northern shore of *Xaultegua Bay* is in 53° S. It was examined by Fitz Roy, who says that Sarmiento describes it very correctly. — *Voyages of Adventure and Beagle*, i, p. 155 (*n.*)

[3] In 53° 13′ S.—73° 21′ W., on the Admiralty Chart.

it became prolonged and appeared like a lance, turning to a crescent shape, between red and white.

On Monday, the 8th of February, at dawn, it was calm, and presently freshened from the W.N.W. with clear and fair weather, in which we made sail from Puerto Angosto in the name of the most holy Trinity, and sailed down the strait on a course S.E. by S. After three quarters of a league we discovered a bay on the right hand, with a large island at the entrance, called by the natives Capitloilgua, and the coast Caycayxixaisgua. There was much snow, and many snow-clad peaks. Here the strait is a league and a half wide.

Having sailed three leagues S.E. by E. along the right hand coast, we came to a great bay which enters more than two leagues W.S.W., and has an island at the entrance. We called it "Abra"[1] because we could not see that it was closed in, and N.E. of it, on the left hand coast, there is another Port and Playa Prada, where there is also a sheltering island. We named it "Playa Prada."[2] Within the Abra the land was low, with rocks appearing above the water. Half a league further on there is a bay on the right hand, and to the E.N.E. of this bay, on the opposite side, there is a bay forming a port, called by the natives Pelepelgua, and the bay itself Exequil.

Beyond this bay, a league to S.E. by E., there is a great bay which runs inland for two leagues to the south to the base of some snowy mountains. We called it the bay of "Mucha-Nieve".[3] Here the coast turns to E.S.E. a league and a half. Both sides, to right and left, trend as far as a a point which runs out from the east coast, and turns to south. Owing to this point it appeared, from a distance

[1] In 53° 22′ S.—73° 4′ 30″ W. on the Admiralty Chart.

[2] In 53° 18′ S.—73° 3′ W., on the Admiralty Chart.

[3] "Snow Sound" of the Admiralty Chart. Entrance in 53° 31′ S., 72° 42′ W.

of a league, that the two sides joined.[1] This was the cause of much sadness and distrust among many on board the ship, believing that there was no way out. In this distance of a league and a half the coast makes a great curve on the right hand, and from thence there is a large opening to the south. As we proceeded the point opened, and we found ourselves in a narrow port formed by it,[2] being less than a league from land to land. From this point another appears E. by N., and in front of it, on the opposite coast, there is another. Before reaching them it again appears that the two sides close in. Between these points, within this distance of one league, both coasts form two large bays; and in the one on the left hand there is an opening forming a channel which runs in towards the snowy range of the main land. At this opening the channel comes out, which commences in the bay of Xaultegua, by Puerto Angosto. The land between this channel running in towards the snowy mountains and that which we were navigating, is an island, called by the natives Cayrayxayiisgua. It is all rocky and bare, without vegetation. Having passed this opening, the current was with us. In these narrow places we met with several changes in the currents, and it was necessary to go with some care in watching them, so that we might not be turned round. Having passed this island, the main land begins to consist of plains near the sea, or valleys divided by low hills. From these points the strait trends S.E. by E. for a league and a half on the right, and two leagues on the left hand. On the left there are beaches and some beds of sea-weed which come out a long way. On the right it is the same for a league and a half, and then S.E. and S.S.E. for two leagues. At the S.E. by E. of

[1] The view is blocked by Carlos III Island, in the middle of the channel.

[2] The narrow channel between Carlos III Island and the south shore.

this point there are four small islets in mid channel, in the space of three leagues, on an E.S.E. line.[1] Between the first and second are four rocks, two on each side. This day we anchored to the east of the first island in 14 fathoms, good bottom, a cable's length from the shore.

Presently we saw smoke on the other coast, and the natives we took with us began to weep. So far as we could understand them, they wept because they feared that the people who made the smoke would kill them. They signified to us that they were great men who fought much, and that they had arrows. We consoled them, assuring them that we would defend them, and kill the other men. They advised that we should go there at night and capture or kill them. After anchoring, Pedro Sarmiento landed on the island with Anton Pablos, the chief Pilot, and some soldiers, to take bearings in the strait. It continues S.E. by E., and is very wide. We then turned to look at the smoke of the "great people" whose land is called, in their language, Tinquichisgua, and we took bearings of a channel to the N.W. This first island on which we landed is about two leagues round, and there are plenty of small fruits like black grapes, and of myrtles—food for birds. Between the island and the land to the west the strait is half a league wide. On this island Pedro Sarmiento set up a cross, and took possession for his Majesty, calling it the "Island of the Cross".[2] Here we got ready the artillery and arquebuses, to be prepared both against pirates and natives, and there was always an armed guard kept.

Here we saw whales, many seals, and "bufeos". We also saw large pieces of snow floating on the sea, which come from the snowy islands three leagues to the south of

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[1] Charles Islands of the Admiralty Chart, in 53° 46′ 30″ to 53° 45′ S., 72° 4′ 30″ W.

[2] This name has not been retained.

this Island of the Cross. The storms of wind displace the snow, carry it down, and send it into the sea.

On Tuesday, the 9th of February, it was fine weather. We left that island and, with a westerly wind, made sail for the channel between this Island of the Cross and the coast on the left hand or north side. Presently it fell calm, and the current was against us. At two the water began to be slack, and we went on, the boat towing the ship. Having arrived off the third island, which is the largest, we heard men's voices, and canoes with men in them, crossing from one island to the other. I sent Hernando Alonso the Pilot, and Juan Gutierrez with armed men in the boat, to see what people were there. They pulled into a good harbour in the island, where they saw a village and "the great people" who had sunk the canoes. They had taken to the woods with their arms, and from the trees they called to our people to come on shore, our men calling to them to come to the sea. The islanders were concealed with bows and arrows ready to kill our people when they landed. Seeing this, our men fired some shots from their arquebuses, when some women began to cry loudly, and the soldiers ceased firing. Meanwhile the ship kept standing off and on at the mouth of the harbour, waiting for the boat; and when Sarmiento heard the firing, he stood for the harbour, and got a gun ready. The boats soon afterwards came back towing a canoe, and reported what had taken place; and that they had seen many people, a good harbour, and a pleasant land. We called it "Isla de Gente". Here we took the altitude in 53° 40′ S.[1] This island has another near it, to S.E., which shelters the harbour, and is the last of these islands.

A league and a half to the east of these islands there is a bay which we called "La Playa", because it has a large

[1] 53° 43′ S.

beach. This bay is in the same latitude, and to the S.S.W., on the southern coast, three leagues further on, there is another great bay, which we called "San Simon".[1] Thence the coast trends east for three leagues to a point called by the natives "Tinquichisgua",[2] and then to S.W. there is a great bay, where there is a very high mountain with a sharp peak in front of a snowy range. This mountain is that which the old narratives call the "Bell of Roldan".[3] All this bay of the Bell[4] is surrounded by lofty snow-clad mountains; and the three leagues of land from the bay of San Simon to the point of Tinquichisgua is all broken ground, consisting of a lofty, snow-covered chain. Here are the Snowy Islands mentioned in the old narratives, and not the four in the middle of the strait.

From the bay of San Simon an arm of the sea turns S.E. Here the strait has a width of three leagues, and the north coast has a finer appearance, with slopes and plains near the sea, valleys, and rivers. The south coast is all rocky, with snow islands to San Simon. All the natives that have been seen hitherto have been on the south side. From the beach, in 53° 40′ S., the coast trends for a quarter of a quarter of a league S.W. to a point we named "San Julian",[5] and beyond it a river falls into the sea, on a beach which trends for a league N.N.E. and then E. On all this beach the land is low near the sea, and there is a valley through which the river flows, which seems to be sheltered. At least now, at the hour when I am writing, it is warm, like summer, and calm. Yet it is evident, from the cold water,

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[1] Simon Bay of the Admiralty Chart, in 53° 52′ S., 72° W.

[2] On the Admiralty Chart, in 53° 52′ S., 71° 51′ W.

[3] Roldan was the gunner on board Magellan's ship. Herrera says, that the name was given after him. On the Admiralty Chart "Roldan's Bell" is in 53° 58′ 30″ S.—71° 46′ W. The height, 2,780 feet.

[4] "Bell Bay" of the Admiralty Chart.

[5] This name has not been preserved.

that it is near the snowy mountains, and we are still in a sea in 53° 40′ S. where, during many months, we have not been accustomed to see the sun. To-day there was little current until sunset, either during the ebb or flood, and the warmth and calmness were remarkable. We were only able to make about three leagues, most of it by towing with the boat, before we anchored.

This day the sun bore W. by S. at 6h. 4m., so that to-day, being the 4th of February, the day had 13h. 16m., and the night had 10h. 24m., in this Rio Honda, in 53° 40′ S., in the strait now newly named by the General Pedro Sarmiento, "The Strait of the Mother of God", the sun being in 29° 57′ of Aquarius.

This day we made little progress, owing to calms and currents. We made good four leagues, most of the day and all night the boat towing. We could never get near the shore, or to a point where we could find any bottom. On Wednesday, the 10th of February, it dawned with a clear sky, and no wind, and as we had not anchored we had not to get under weigh. The boat towed until a light breeze began to blow from S.E., which lasted a short time, and then there was a calm again. In this way, at one time being towed, at another sailing with a light breeze, we went on, sometimes gaining and sometimes losing ground. To-day we took the altitude in 53° 45′ S. A little after noon the S.E. wind began, and we crossed over to the south side, where we saw two great channels, and several bays and ports, with much sea-weed near the coast. The wind fell, and it was by towing that we reached the south coast, and anchored in an unsheltered roadstead, but near a stream of fresh water. Here Pedro Sarmiento went on shore with Anton Pablos and some soldiers armed with arquebuses, and climbed up a mountain to explore and survey. While we were on the summit we saw the wind freshening from the north, so we hurried down and went on

board. While we were getting up the anchor to make sail and shift berth to the shelter of a point ahead, the wind fell, and we let go again. We remained that night, keeping a very careful look out. It freshened up at one time, but presently the wind fell again. The strait is here four leagues wide. We called this place the "Bay of Fresh Water".[1] The land appeared to be good, but we did not see habitations.

On Thursday, the 11th of February, we made sail in the name of the most Holy Trinity, and followed the coast on the right hand for two leagues, to a point we named "San Bernabe".[2] Half a league from the Bay of Fresh Water there is a broad opening to the south, running inland for five leagues, and then making branches on either side. It has a large island, and two rocks at the entrance. We called it the "Bay of San Pedro",[3] nearly half a league wide. Thence the coast curves round, with a large creek in the middle. North of Cape San Bernabe, on the opposite coast, where the mountain chain is in sight, a great valley is seen inland, which we named "Gran Valle". Here the strait is two leagues in width. From the Cape of San Bernabe the coast trends S.S.E., and a bay runs south for three leagues, with an arm to the S.W., and in the distance a snowy range of mountains appears. The bay was named "San Fernando". Here the width of the strait is three leagues.[4]

From the point of San Fernando, three leagues to N.E.,

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[1] "Freshwater Cove" of the Admiralty Chart, in 53° 54′ 30″ S., 71° 45′ W.

[2] This name has not been preserved.

[3] In 53° 37′ 30″ S., 71° 37′ W., on the Admiralty Chart.

[4] Here he passed Cape Froward in 53° 54′ 15″ S., the most southern point of South America. But the name was given by Cavendish. Fuller, who was pilot with Cavendish, makes Cape Froward in latitude 54° 15′ S.

Chart of the

EAST HALF OF

MAGELLAN STRAIT

to illustrate

SARMIENTO'S VOYAGE

1580.

Names of Sarmiento written full strength. Modern names written half strength. Heights in English feet above Sea level.

F.S.Weller F.R.G.S.

which is the trend of the strait, there is a point we named "Santa Agueda",[1] forming a lofty and bluff hill, with a ravine between it and the snowy mountains in rear.

From the point of San Bernabe the southern coast turns E.S.E. for six leagues towards a mountain range much covered with snow, and before it there is a high peaked hill like a *vernal;* and in the midst of this *vernal* and of a hill like a sugar loaf, there is a three-pointed hill. This *vernal* or sugar loaf has the shape of a bell. On one side of the hill there is an opening, and on the other another opening. From this point and hill of Santa Agueda the northern coast turns N. by E. to a point one league further on, which we named "Santa Brigida".[2] It is a fine and low point, and in the intervening league there are many sandy beaches. This stretch of land is mountainous, the point of Santa Brigida is all with beaches, from the sugar loaf of the channels to this point. They bear, one from the other, N.W., S.E. six leagues. From this bay on the right hand, where are the sugar loaf and the *vernal*, two larger channels run south, named by us "Madalena" and "San Gabriel";[3] and to the west of the point of Santa Brigida there is a great bay with sandy beaches. There is a river, and in the middle of the bay a rock. We called it "the bay of Santa Brigida and Santa Agueda", for both points are near, though it is more sheltered by the former. The river forms a large valley between two ranges of hills turning N.N.W., and then, as it

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[1] The name has not been preserved; but Fitz Roy identifies Sarmiento's Morro de Santa Agueda with Cape Froward. He adds: "Any name given by this excellent old navigator is too classical and valuable to be omitted: therefore, while the extremity itself may retain the name of Cape Froward, the mountain by which it is formed may be allowed to keep his distinction" (i, p. 145).

[2] The name has not been preserved. This point must be very near Cape Froward.

[3] Magdalen Sound and Gabriel Channel of the Admiralty Chart. In 54° S., and 71° W.

seemed, N.E. We called it the "River of the Great Valley". The point of Santa Brigida is a small island somewhat prolonged, and on the south side it seems cut short, with some trees standing by themselves on the upper part.

From the point of Santa Brigida there is another low point E.N.E., which we named "San Isidro",[1] which forms a pinnacle rock[2] at the end. Between these two points there are two great bays. From the point of San Isidro on the south side, there are two mountains, and between them a deep valley E.S.E. and W.N.W. Here the strait is four leagues wide, and we met with a confusion of currents caused by the meeting of the tides. From the point of San Isidro to a high hill on the other side the width is four leagues. We called this hill "Morro de Lomas", and from it, following the coast E.N.E., the land becomes low with rolling hills, commencing at this hill, and in the low land a great bay is formed.[3] Here the strait is eight leagues across.

The point of San Isidro is in 54°.[4] Thence the coast trends north to a long point which we named "Santa Ana";[5] and near point San Isidro there is a sandy beach forming a bay. Here we saw some natives, and they called out to us from the shore. Hence we named the place

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[1] On the Admiralty Chart, in 53° 47′ 30″ S., 70° 58′ W.

[2] *Mogote.* Hunters give the name *Mogote* to the horns of deer between the time they first appear until they are a hand's breadth long. Metaphorically, the term was applied, by sailors, to points of rock jutting above the surface of the sea. From *Mogote* comes the adjective *Amogotado* which is used by Sarmiento. The editor of the Spanish edition also mentions that the word is used, in the same sense, by Don Francisco de Seixas y Lovera in his work entitled *Descripcion Geografica y Derrotero de la Region Austral Magallanica.*

[3] Lomas Bay of the Admiralty Chart.

[4] 53° 47′ 30″ S.

[5] Sta. Ana Point of the Admiralty Chart, the northern end of Port Famine in 53° 39′ S., 70° 55′ 30″ W.

"Playa de los Voces".[1] The bay sweeps round to point Santa Ana, and we anchored in the middle of the bay, two leagues from the point, in seven fathoms, good bottom, as it is all over the bay, at least wherever we took soundings. We here took in wood and water, and when our people were on shore, the natives, who had shouted to us, came to them, embraced them, and began to treat them as friends. Pedro Sarmiento, seeing this from the ship, sent on shore some beads, combs, bells, biscuits and meat. The natives were seated with the Ensign and Fernando Alonso and the other Christians, ten in number, holding friendly communication by signs, and they gave us to understand that they were contented with our friendship and with what we had given them, but that they wanted to go away to sleep and they would return to-morrow. Leaving us, to all appearance, as our very good friends, they went to their huts. The bay was named the "Bay of the Natives",[2] and the river that was there, "San Juan". At this river we took the altitude in 50° 40′ S.[3]

From this port and river of San Juan there appears a bay and mouth of a channel between two masses of land to E.N.E. eight leagues, and the southern point of this bay we named "San Valentin", the northern point "Punta del Boqueron";[4] the opening being half a league across. The land of the cape of San Valentin is continuous with that of the hill and bay of Lomas, whence it gradually gets lower, until at San Valentin it is nearly level with the sea. The earth that slopes down on this land to the shores of the strait is white like white sand. It looks a good land and

[1] Voces Bay of the Admiralty Chart, in 53° 41′ 30″ S. and 70° 58′ W.

[2] The Port Famine of Cavendish.

[3] Correct. Fuller has 50° 50′ S. The two observations may have been taken at positions some miles apart.

[4] Capes Valentyn and Boqueron of the Admiralty Chart: the former in 53° 34′ N., 70° 32′ W.; the latter in 53° 28′ N., 17° 15′ W.

pleasant to the sight. On the north side there are fine valleys and rivers of good water, excellent timber, and safe ports and anchorages. This day we had a light west wind until 10, that is, while the ebb tide lasted, and afterwards it blew fresh from the south during all the time that the tide was flowing. The currents correspond with the tides.

From this port, and from the strait, a snowy volcano is seen to the south, which forms a saddle between two peaks at the summit,[1] and to the north of the volcano appear a sugar loaf and *vernal.* When he who may be entering the strait from the side of the North Sea to come out in the South Sea, sights this volcano and mountains, he will see them as they are depicted in the drawing, and a channel between them which looks larger than the strait, so that it might deceive and lead to an error in the course taken. It should, therefore, be noticed that a course should not be taken by the channel between the mountains, but, as soon as these three mountains are in sight, a channel will be seen to the right N.W. by W., which is the right channel, to which a ship must shape her course, leaving those three mountains on the left hand. He who is coming from the South Sea must leave them on the right hand.

On Friday, the 12th of February, our people went on shore to finish laying in a stock of wood and fuel, and to cut wood for strengthening the ship, of which she was much in need for so long a voyage as we had before us. While this work was proceeding on shore, Pedro Sarmiento went away in the boat to explore, accompanied by the Father Vicar and Anton Pablos, the Pilot of the *Capitana*, and seven sailors. They went to the point of Santa Ana, which

[1] It was very properly named Mount Sarmiento by Admiral Fitz Roy. The chart places it in 54° 27′ 30″ S. and 70° 52′ W., with a height of 7,330 feet. When clear the peak may be seen from Elizabeth Island, 96 miles to the north. Fitz Roy gives the height at 6,800 feet. He says that Sarmiento's description of it is excellent (i, p. 27).

is two leagues and a half from the river. At a league and a half from the river a point of sand runs out very low, and thence a bank extends half a league, and more than a league along the coast. Between the point and that of Santa Ana there is a great bay. All along this coast there is a great quantity of wood thrown up on the parts facing the south, which shows that it must be stormy in winter, for the north wind comes here over the land. We arrived at the point of Santa Ana and went up to a high table land, where there were large glades and spaces of very good pasture for sheep; and we saw two deer, very fat and large. An arquebusier shot one, and the other that escaped had large horns. Here we took a round of angles and examined the land and the strait.

From this point of Santa Ana, the bay of San Valentin bears E.N.E. six leagues, and from Santa Ana the coast trends N.N.E. to a point ten leagues off, which I named "San Antonio de Padua".[1] Between, there are five bays, and from the point forming the fourth bay a shoal about a league in length runs out S.E. Sarmiento and Anton Pablos took the altitude on shore in 53° 30′ S., and planted a large cross on the point, the General, Pedro Sarmiento, taking solemn possession for his Majesty. The cross was set up on a great heap of stones, within which was placed a letter in a jar lined with pitch and filled with powdered charcoal, to make it incorruptible. On the pole of the cross was written, in letters cut out, "*A letter at the foot.*" In this letter notice was given to all nations and peoples that this land belonged to his Majesty, having been taken possession of for the crown of Castille and Leon, so that ignorance could not be pretended; and that in his Majesty's name, the strait had received the name of "the Strait of

[1] This name has not been preserved. It is probably the same as Punta Arenas.

the Mother of God", whom Pedro Sarmiento had adopted as his advocate in this voyage. The letter also ordered the Admiral, on the chance of his arriving here, that he was to return to Peru to report to his Excellency, having thus obtained knowledge of what had happened, and respecting the proceedings of the *Capitana*, while Pedro Sarmiento would go on. This letter was signed by Pedro Sarmiento, the Father Vicar, and the Pilot Anton Pablos. We returned to the ship, and found that the bank had been much more exposed during the ebb tide; so that we were obliged to go out to sea, with some labour for the rowers, to pass clear of it. The grass was set ablaze by the fire that was made to melt the pitch, as we afterwards found. At this time the natives had come to where our people were getting wood and water, with their women and children. They were busy conversing, when they saw the smoke of fire rising from the hill which was burning, on which they went away and could not be induced to stay, as they believed that the smoke was raised by the *giants* who made war upon them, and were more powerful than they were. They brought, as presents, a piece of stinking seal flesh, sea birds, fish, red fruit like cherries, and pieces of stone, streaked and coloured with ores of silver and gold. When they were asked its use, they answered by signs that it was for making fire. Presently one of them took some feathers they had with them, which served as tinder, and with it and the stone produced fire. It appeared to me to be the ore of gold and silver from a mine, as it is like the *Curi-quiso de Porco*[1] in Peru. When we made the fire on that point it was answered by many other smokes on the other island in front, which we called "San Pablo".[2]

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[1] *Ccuri* is the Quichua for gold; *quiso*, a flint stone. Porco, a place where there are silver mines in Upper Peru.

[2] This name for the large island terminating at Cape Valentyn has not been preserved.

The point of Santa Ana bears from the river of San Juan N.E. by N. two leagues and a half.

On Saturday, the 13th, mass was said on shore. The forge was landed, and the fastenings were made, that were necessary for knee timbers and joists. The bows were strengthened with lashings and knee timbers.

Here, at this river of San Juan, Pedro Sarmiento took possession and raised a great heap of stones on which he set up a lofty cross, which could be seen from all parts of this reach of the strait; and he there deposited the following letter:—

"POSSESSION OF THE RIVER OF SAN JUAN AND OF THE STRAIT OF THE MOTHER OF GOD.

"*Jesus.* "*Maria.*

"In the name of the most Holy Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, three Persons and one only true God Almighty who created heaven and earth out of nothing, in whom I believe, and in whom all true Christians ought to believe firmly; and of the most holy, ever virgin Mary, Mother of God, our advocate, and more especially the advocate of this fleet. Be it known to all living beings, peoples, and nations in the whole world, as well faithful as infidel, that to-day, being Thursday, the 12th of February 1580, having arrived in this bay, now newly called 'Bahia de la Gente', and the ship named *Neustra Señora de la Esperanza*, which is *Capitana* of the fleet that the most excellent Lord Don Francisco de Toledo, Viceroy Governor and Captain General of the Kingdoms and Provinces of Peru, despatched from the city of the Kings of Peru for the discovery of the Strait on the 11th of October 1579, being anchored off this watering place and river of San Juan of Possession; and having parted company with the ship *Almiranta* named *San Francisco* before reaching the mouth of the Strait, this said *Capitana* entered the Strait alone and discovered it. On board the ship *Capitana* Pedro Sarmiento came as Captain Superior and General of the Fleet for the most Christian Lord King Don Philip our natural Lord and King, whom God preserve for many years with increase of his estates and kingdoms for the spread and defence of the holy

Roman Catholic Church our Mother. He, having taken possession of many different parts of the archipelago of this Strait, also took possession in this river, called San Juan of Possession, which is in 53° 40′ S., to-day being Saturday, the 13th of February, and yesterday the 12th he took possession of the point of Santa Ana which is in 53° 30′ S. This is notified in the present writing and instrument that it may be notorious to all, and that no nation, barbarous or civilized, Catholic or not Catholic, faithful or infidel, may pretend ignorance now or at any future time, nor shall have the audacity, without special and express permission from the very powerful Lord King of Castille and Leon, his heirs and successors, to enter, settle, or establish themselves in the regions and lands of this Strait vulgarly called of Magellan for commercial or any other purposes, in the belief that they are unoccupied lands having no Lord or King to whom they properly belong; for, as already notified, they are the property of the very powerful and very Catholic Lord Don Philip II, most meritorious King of the Spains with their dependencies and of the Indies, and of the navigation and discovery of half the world, being 180° of longitude, in conformity with the donation and concession of the most happy Supreme Roman Pontiff Alexander VI. According to the concession and donation of the Bull *proprio motû* despatched, these the said lands fall within and are included in the demarcation and limits defined in the said Bull, in which his Holiness prohibits every one in general to dare to come, by any way, to these parts without express permission from the Lords Kings of Castille in these formal words:—'And we inhibit whatever persons of whatever dignity, even if it be royal or imperial state rank order or condition, on pain of excommunition *latæ sententiæ* which they will *eo ipso* incur if they act to the contrary, from presuming to grant licences or any other privilege without your special permission of yourself or your heirs and successors, to go to the islands or continents discovered or that may be discovered to the west and south of a line drawn and laid down from the Arctic to the Antarctic Pole, namely such lands and islands as have been or may be found towards India or towards whatever part, the said line being distant from whatever of the islands vulgarly called the Azores or Cape Verde, 100 leagues towards the west as remains said, notwithstanding constitutions, Apostolic ordinances or others whatever.' And at

the end of the said Bull it is said that to no man shall it be lawful to break nor with audacious temerity to go against this letter of our grant, requirement, donation, assignment, constitution, deputation, decree, order, inhibition, and will. If any one should presume to try, let him know that he will incur the indignation of the omnipotent God, and of the blessed St. Peter and St. Paul. Given in Rome at St. Peter's, the 4th day of May of the incarnation 1493 years, in the first year of our Pontificate.

"The possession taken, is taken here in all the Strait and Archipelago by both seas of the South and North, for the said King, my Lord, of Castille and Leon, discovered at his cost, and by his command and order.

"I, the said Pedro Sarmiento, Captain Superior of this the said fleet, on the part of his Majesty the King, my Lord, order the Admiral Juan de Villalobos, and the Chief Pilot Hernando Lamero, and the Serjeant Major Pascual Suarez, and all the officers, soldiers, and sailors of the said ship *Almiranta* named *San Francisco*, that if they should come or arrive here, or see this cross and letter, they are incontinently to return to Peru, to the city of the Kings, and give an account to the most excellent Lord Don Francisco de Toledo, Viceroy of Peru, and to the Lords Judges of the Royal Audience of the said city of the Kings, bringing to them this letter jointly with the report of what had happened up to the arrival at this river of San Juan of Possession; and they shall report how this ship *Capitana*, the *Neustra Señora de Esperanza*, arrived, with the favour of God, at this river, having discovered the Strait, and passed into the North Sea to proceed to Spain, and give an account to his Majesty, as his Excellency ordered in his Instructions; also that all the people who left Lima are alive, glory be to God, besides four others who were in the brigantine and who belonged to the *Almiranta*. The names of those on board are as follows:

Captain Superior	.	Pedro Sarmiento.
Vicar of the Fleet	.	Friar Antonio Guadramiro.
Ensign . .	.	Juan Gutierrez de Guevara.[1]
Chief Pilot .	.	Anton Pablos.

[1] Executed for mutiny, 19th June 1580.

Pilot (his companion) .	Hernando Alonso.[1]
Royal Notary . .	Juan de Esquivel.
Purser . . .	Juan de Sagasti.[2]
Boatswain . .	Pedro de Hojeda.
Gunner . . .	Baltasar Rodriguez.
Caulker . . .	Pedro Lopez.[3]
Master-at-Arms . .	Gaspar Antonio.
Carpenter . . .	Mase Agustin.
Soldiers . . .	Alvaro de Torres.
	Francisco Garces de Espinosa.
	Pedro de Aranda.
	Geronimo del Arroyo.
	Gabriel de Solis.
	Antonio del Castillo.
	Christoval de Bonilla.
	Andres de Orduña.
	Pedro de la Rosa.
	Pedro de Bahamonde.
	Francisco de Mazuelas.
	Pedro Martin.
Sailors . . .	Pero Pablo.
	Angel Baltolo.[4]
	Domingo Baxaneta.
	Juan Antonio Corzo.
	Sancho de Larréa.
	Diego Perez.[5]
	Diego Perez.
	Francisco Hernandez.
	Pero Marquez.
	Ximon de Abreu.
	Luis Gonzalez.
	Gaspar Gomez.
	Francisco Perez Rocha.
	Francisco de Urbea.

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[1] Sent with despatches to Nombre de Dios in a small vessel from Cape Verde, 20th June 1580.

[2] Beached at Santiago for neglect of duty and mutiny, 19th June 1580.

[3] Shipped at Pisco.

[4] Dispenser.

[5] A Portuguese.

Sailors . . . Mateo Andres.
Jacome Ricalde.
Manuel Perez.
Pedro de Villabustre.
Peralvarez.
Pero Gonzalez.

"There is one missing, Pedro Jorge, who was drowned in the storm on the day after we departed from Puerto Bermejo. The rest, being Negros, Mulattos, and Indians taken as servants, are well, and the ship is repaired.

"This is my order to the said Admiral, and to the rest of those on board the *Almiranta*, to be complied with and observed in the said manner because it is for the good of his Majesty's service, and in execution of the order from the said most excellent Lord Viceroy. They are to take the narrative of the voyage and discovery they may have drawn up, with the three accounts which I give of the three discoveries I made in the three boat voyages in the archipelago, with this letter, leaving in this same place an authorized copy. For it will be of great importance for the rights of the King our Lord, in the time to come. Thus his Excellency may know how his orders have been carried out, and provide for what may be most conducive to his Majesty's service, which is to be complied with by the said Admiral Juan de Villalobos and the rest of those on board the said *Almiranta*, on pain of falling into evil case, and suffering the penalties due to those who disobey their captains who in the name of their Lord and natural King give orders touching his service.

"*Item.*—I make known to all that to make this voyage and discovery I took for my advocate and patron the most serene Lady our Queen of the Angels, holy St. Mary Mother of God, always Virgin, in conformity with the Instructions of his Excellency. In consequence of which, and of the miracles which our Lord God has worked for us in this voyage and discovery, and in the dangers which we encountered, through her intercession, I have given the name of the Strait of the Mother of God, to what was formerly known as the Strait of Magellan, and I hope that his Majesty being, as he is, so devoted to the Mother of God, will confirm this name in his writings and provisions, seeing that I gave it in his royal name, because she is Patron and Advocate

of these regions and parts, intercessor with her most precious son Jesus Christ our Lord for him, and that He may, of his most blessed majesty, have mercy on these natives, and send his holy evangelist that their souls may be saved. From it will result high honour and glory to Kings of Spain who were his ministers, both in this world and the next, and to the Spanish nation, which will execute the work, there will be no less honour, profit, and increase.

"This cross was set up on the 12th of this the said month, and this letter in triplicate deposited, mass having been said on the same day in the said port of the river of San Juan of Possession; and signed by name and hand—

"Pedro Sarmiento,
"*Captain-Superior and General of his Majesty.*

"In faith of which I, the Royal Notary of this Fleet, wrote this letter, and passed it before me and here made my sign = in testimony of its truth.

"Juan de Esquivel, *Royal Notary.*"

The days that we were in this port of the River of Possession were warm, with a fresh south wind from eight in the morning to five in the afternoon, when it fell calm, and was calm all night. The nights were very fine, with clear sky the stars shining brightly, and the air healthful. Here paroquets and catalines, another species of paroquets, with half the head of a red colour, were seen. *Silgueritos* and other singing birds were heard, whose song is a sign of fair weather. The footmarks of tigers and lions were seen. This day we embarked the forge, and the rest of the wood and water, being Saturday, the 13th of the month.

On Sunday, the 14th of February, we left this river of San Juan of the Possession in fair weather, and shaped a course for the island of San Pablo and Cape of San Valentin, but before we were off the cape of Santa Ana, it fell calm, and we were at the mercy of the currents, sometimes gaining ground, sometimes losing. So we remained

without anchoring, because we could not get near the shore owing to having been becalmed in mid channel. Nearly all night we were towing, so as not to lose too much ground.

It dawned calm on Monday, and at seven a light air came from the west, before which we reached a point whence San Pablo bore east. This day we took the altitude in 53° 30′ S. At noon it was again calm, and to-day and yesterday it was as hot as it is at Lima in Lent, and in Spain in July.

At nine o'clock in the morning of Tuesday, the 16th of February, it began to blow from the south, and the wind continued to freshen as the day advanced. We went before it N.E., coming to a low coast, consisting of ravines and bare ground, on the southern side. Half a league from land we sounded in ten fathoms, and for fear of running on some bank we stood out to sea again (I should say into mid channel). At two in the afternoon we ran before the wind, following the coast N.N.E. and N.E. to a point six leagues from the island of San Pablo to the N.N.E. In the middle of this distance the coast sweeps round and forms a bay with a low stretch of land without grass, which at this season is burnt up. In this bay we took the altitude in 53° 10′.

Having passed the point to which we gave the name of "Gente Grande", another came in sight five leagues N.N.E. Beyond the point of Gente Grande the land forms a bay[1] to the east with an inlet, and as it was late we anchored in the opening, in twelve fathoms, good bottom. Here the water flows more than at any other place where we had yet been in this Strait of Madre de Dios. In anchoring we saw some people, who shouted to us. In order to see who

[1] Genta Grande Bay of the Admiralty Chart, in 52° 57′ S. 70° 19′ W.

they were, and to secure a native of this province as an interpreter, Pedro Sarmiento sent the Ensign and Hernando Alonso, with some arquebusiers, in the boat. As soon as they reached the shore the natives of that province, who belonged to the race of great people, began to shout and jump about with their arms up in the air, and without weapons, having left them in a place near at hand. The Ensign made the same signs of peace, and the giants came to the beach near the boat. Then the Ensign jumped on shore with four men. But they made signs that he should leave his lance, and turned back to the place where they had left their bows and arrows. On seeing this the Ensign left the lance and showed them the things he had brought for barter. The giants saw them, but turned back, though with hesitation. When our people saw the natives going away they got ready to attack them. Ten men, who had got out of the boat, attacked one of the natives and were scarcely able to hold him. The others attacked our men from where they had left their bows and arrows, and returned so quickly shooting the arrows that our men were obliged to return to the boat, and quickly shoved off amidst a flight of arrows. They were helped up, while the natives kept on discharging their arrows. Our purser was wounded in the eye, and while the boat's crew were getting up the side two arquebuses were dropped into the sea. Thus they returned to the ship, bringing the captured native with them. Although we offered things to the captive (which he willingly took) he could not be re-assured. He would eat nothing all that day and night. His limbs were very large.[1]

The country is plain and without hills, and well peopled

[1] This Patagonian was brought to Spain, and presented to Philip II at Badajos. Fitz Roy says that Sarmiento is the only person on record who has communicated with the natives in the neighbourhood of Cape Monmouth.

with these natives, so far as we could then see. Our men who went on shore found the ground burrowed with rabbit holes, the rabbits being like those in Castille, and the natives wore cloaks of the skins of vicuñas, the same as those of Peru, called in the native language *neuxo*, and leather sandals. There seemed to be land here, with a good climate, suitable for a settlement. The natives are feared by those nearer the South Sea, and, being a valiant race, they possess the best land we have hitherto seen. It has the general appearance of the land of the Collao,[1] well fitted for raising flocks. There are low hills with valleys between them, where we saw much smoke, a sign of places where the natives are living, and, therefore, probably with the best climate.

On Ash Wednesday, the 17th of February, Pedro Sarmiento sent the Pilot, Hernando Alonso, to find out whether there was shelter behind an islet which is in the middle of the bay of Gente Grande, for we had a wind from the north. Not finding good anchoring ground he returned to the ship. When the tide began to go out, we got under weigh and made sail to continue our voyage, making some progress while the tide was with us, for there was little wind, and at times calm, that which there was being N.N.W. and N. But while in mid-channel it fell calm, and the tide was flowing, so we were forced to send the boat ahead to tow. But the current was too strong, we could not hold our own, and we drifted back some distance. We could not anchor, so that we were in this state until the tide turned and a breeze sprang up from N.W. It was then night, and we were forced to search for bottom, and anchored in 15 fathoms, about a league further on than the place whence we started in the morning. This day we could not make out a clear channel. To many on board it

[1] In Southern Peru.

looked ahead like a closed bay, and there were differences of opinion over this. Some thought we should go back to a bay astern. Others fancied that these currents ebbing[1] back could only be owing to a bay without outlet. All night we were trying with the lead line whether the tide ebbed or flowed. We found that it ebbed when the current flowed towards what we thought to be a closed bay, which gave us hope that there must be an outlet in that direction, though it appeared to be a closed bay. But the experiment of the tides, and the sight of a mountain range of greater height behind the lower land, with a valley between E.N.E. and W.S.W., gave us a lesson to leave nothing without trying, so that we might have nothing to complain of or repent afterwards.

The following Thursday, the 18th of February, Pedro Sarmiento went away in a boat with Anton Pablos, the Chief Pilot, and eight men, proceeding, with the current, under sail towards the north. They came to a high hill, with a ravine, two and a half leagues from the ship, and three and a half from the bay. Thence we discovered the channel trending E.N.E. Pedro Sarmiento gave the name of "San Vicente"[2] to this hill and ravine, which forms one end of the bay of Gente Grande. From this cape of San Vincente, another hill and cape is seen to the north, a league E. This is the narrowest part we had seen since entering the strait. We called the cape "Nuestra Señora de Gracia".[3]

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[1] "*Jusente*" (Portuguese, *Juzante*), means the tide going down. It is derived from the old Castillian word "*juso*" or "*yuso*", meaning the same as "*abaixo*". On the Cantabrian coast they still use the words "*Montante*" and "*Jusente*" for flow and ebb.

[2] Cape St. Vincent of the Admiralty Chart, in 52° 47′ 45″ S., 70° 26′ W. The south side of the entrance to the "Second Narrow" from the west.

[3] Gracia Point of the chart, being the north entrance to the "Second Narrows" from the west.

At these two capes fortresses could be built to defend the entrance from both sides.

From the cape of San Vicente we went onwards in the boat for a league, the coast trending E.N.E., and having beaches all along. Leaving a guard in the boat, we went on shore without arms, and climbed up the ravine to the highest hill in the neighbourhood to get a view. Here we laid down the channel, capes, and coast line as well as was possible, by means of our eyes and of two compasses. In this way Pedro Sarmiento and Anton Pablos set down what they saw there. The name of the hill and ravine whence they made their survey was Barranca de San Simon, and thence appears a point on the opposite coast N.N.E.—S.S.W. four leagues, which was called the point of "San Gregorio".[1] On the same north coast another low point runs out, which was called "Nuestra Señora de la Valle".[2] Thence we saw a very large opening of the sea bearing E.N.E. Over the land on the south coast we had an extensive view of a country, with pastures like those of Castille, scattered over with shrubs of a fine colour, like the wild thyme of Castille, and with holes like rat holes. The land is hilly. Having noted everything we went back to the boat; whence we saw the natives making great clouds of smoke on both sides of the strait. Without further delay we made sail on the boat and returned to the ship with the flood tide, for it was beginning to blow from the north. We took the altitude here in 53° 3′ S. To-day, at three in the afternoon, the tide was neither flowing to the sea nor up the strait; and as it began to ebb, we made sail to ascertain whether we could proceed by the narrow part at cape Nuestra Señora de Gracia. The wind began to change

[1] Cape Gregory of the chart being the north side of the entrance to the "Second Narrow", coming from the east, in 52° 40′ S., 70° 12′ W

[2] This name has not been preserved.

from W. to N.W., and the currents to check our way, so that we made little progress. Being in the bay, steering to get clear of it and into the channel, the side winds and eddies, coming down from the hills, baffled us so that we drifted towards some rocks, and though the seas took us, the people believed they were eddies from the currents and, therefore, were not alarmed. But coming nearer we found six fathoms, and at the next cast of the lead it gave five, presently four and a half, and each time there was less depth. Although we came to the side for clearing the bay, the wind failed, so that the current carried us towards the rocks, no eddy appearing. Seeing that we were in great danger, we commended ourselves to our Lady of the Valley, and Pedro Sarmiento promised to go a pilgrimage and make offerings to her sacred house at Seville, beseeching her to deliver us from this peril. Suddenly the Queen of the Angels, Mother of God and of Mercy, sent us a fresh breeze, with which the ship went out against the current.[1] The reefs of rocks extend for a league E. and W. to within three leagues of the cape of San Vicente. Half of them are N. and S. of that cape, the rest from the E. to S.E. and W. He who comes this way, must take notice that he must not approach these without the lead over the side, because in fine weather all looks smooth, and often the sea is as high as the land, so that the coast is not seen until the ship is very near, for the look-out man thinks it is all sea until the ship is on shore. In navigating, attention should be paid to the tides, and the anchors should be quickly raised. In all these parts bottom is to be found, from San Juan of Possession, even in mid-channel, and the greatest depth does not exceed 50 fathoms. The land should not be approached closely without taking soundings and having a boat ahead.

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[1] "Lee Bay" of the chart.

Having escaped this danger of the rocks, we went on with a fresh westerly wind on the starboard tack. As night was coming on, and it was slack tide, we anchored in mid-channel, in 15 fathoms, between the small islands, bearing N.E. and S.W. a league from each other. We named the S.W. one "Madalena", and the N.E. one "Santa Marta".[1] The Madalena is round, and half a league in circumference. Santa Marta runs N.W.—S.W. for half a league, and on the S.E. side has a low point which extends far out as a bank.

Between these two islands comes a point of the main land, rather high, named San Silvestre, and between it and the islands there is a great channel. The main land, which is between points San Antonio de Padua and San Silvestre,[2] forms a great bay of low land, which we called the bay of "Santa Catalina";[3] and between the points of San Silvestre and Nuestra Señora de Gracia the mainland forms another very large bay W.S.W. We called it the bay of "San Bartholome".[4] At the entrance of this bay there is a shoal, which raises the sea in it. Be careful of it. At night it fell calm, the wind which had been fresh from the west died away, and we anchored. It was calm all night.

On Friday morning, the 19th of February, at the turn of the tide, we made sail with wind from the east, sending the boat ahead under sail to sound, with the Pilot Hernando Alonso and a boat's crew in her. We were always in from 25 to 30 fathoms, sometimes a little more or less, and at

[1] Sta. Marta and Sta. Magdalena Islands of the chart, in mid-channel, east of Elizabeth Island. The former in 52° 51′ 30″, the latter in 52° 55′ 30″ S., 70° 34′ W.

[2] Point San Antonio de Padua appears to be Punta Arenas; and San Silvestre is a point on Elizabeth Island. Neither of these names have been preserved.

[3] Catalina Bay, on the Admiralty Chart, is placed north of Sandy Point.

[4] This name has not been preserved.

9 in the forenoon, coming near the narrow place, it fell calm. We recalled the boat to come and tow the ship, which she did for a good long time until we reached the narrow place. Here there is great danger from currents when there is no wind. Being at the entrance it began to freshen from the east, and we left off towing. As the tide had ceased to run out, we made for the north coast, for the bay which Sarmiento named "Santa Susana". There we anchored in eight fathoms low water, good bottom, half a league from the land. All the land in these narrows has bottom in 30 and 40 fathoms, stone, but the coasts and ravines, and the beaches are lime. With the flood tide the wind freshened from the east, moderate and warm, with a little rain. This wind seldom blows. On the coast, on the side of the South Sea from the Gulf of Trinidad, it is the north wind which is warm and moist, and rain comes with it. Here this occurs with the east wind; although there it is always stormy, and here it comes with fair weather. From the ravine of San Simon onward, the coast trends E.S.E. It is a low narrow point which we named San Isidro.[1] Points Nuestra Señora de Gracia and San Gregorio bear E.N.E. and W.S.W. from each other.

On Saturday, the 20th of February, we shifted berth to get closer inshore on the north side, because we were in the full force of the currents and tides where we were anchored. We anchored in eight fathoms, a league west of point San Gregorio. Believing that we were well berthed we were joyful, when the instant we sounded we found ourselves in three fathoms of water, the tide ebbing, which made us anxious; but, by the great diligence of

[1] San Isidro Point, on the Admiralty Chart, is on the south side of the entrance to the "Second Narrow" coming from the east; in 52° 45′ S., 70° 7′ W.

pilots, sailors, and soldiers, she was towed out towards the channel until the depth was 15 fathoms. Here we let go two anchors, and here we thought ourselves really safe, though the place was dangerous owing to the currents.

For this reason, that is, to fly from the impetus and fury of the currents in the middle of the strait, Pedro Sarmiento went in the boat to discover whether there was a port on the other side of the point of San Gregorio, taking with him the Father Vicar, Hernando Alonso, seven arquebusiers, and eight sailors, good men by sea and land. We went to the shore, landed, and, forming the men in order, marched to the upper part of the ravine, to the highest point of the cape, where we could make out the sea at the other side of the point of San Gregorio. Pedro Sarmiento took a round of angles of the points and bays which were in sight, and planted a small cross on the highest land, there not being wood enough for a larger one, the land being bare, without woods or clumps of trees. He took possession of all that land for his Majesty, and ratified the act.

This point of San Gregorio is peopled by natives. As we saw that the wind was beginning to blow fresh from the west, from which quarter it is accustomed to blow furiously, Sarmiento did not wish to stay any longer, but to return to the ship, that no risks might be run. In returning we saw a long hill running N.W.—S.E., between which and the point of San Gregorio there are some low plains like valleys, in the manner of fields, some green and others fallow, also a lake of fresh water; and by the appearance of the land we judged that there were no rivers here, but small lakes and springs from which the natives drink. We came to this conclusion because in making holes in the earth flowing water is soon reached.

Having got into the boat, we made for the ship, sounding as we went. It is to be noticed that the whole bay, which

extends, as I said, from the bay of San Gregorio and point of Neustra Señora de Gracia by land, is shallow, with but two to three fathoms. A ship entering here cannot approach near the coast without risk. She should rather come to in mid-channel, or at least should not anchor in less than twelve fathoms, for being in eight, it will give three or less at low water, and at a distance of two boats' lengths will be left dry.

We had scarcely got back to the ship with the boat, when it began to blow furiously from the west, and as the tide was rising against the wind, there was much sea. As we had had experience of the fury of this wind we desired to move but could not, owing to the strength of the current and wind which turned the ship different ways. We, therefore, waited until the tide was slack, and then brought the cables to the capstan. The capstan turned so easily that every one feared that the cables had parted and the anchors were lost, which caused us the greatest anxiety and fear of danger. But, persevering with a good heart, some at one piece of work, some at another, and Pedro Sarmiento taking bearings of the land to see if we should clear the point, he knew when the ship was over the anchors. Looking down at the cables he knew that the ship held by them, and that it was the current rushing under her stern that made the capstan go round so easily, the cables being in bights. He told this to the men in a loud voice, which consoled them greatly, as they now knew that the ship was fast. At length, with great labour for the men, the ship receiving heavy blows from the sea so that the topmast was taken out of her, God was served that the anchors should be raised without carrying away the cables. In casting, the current turned the ship and she was drifting on the rocks, when a sail was filled by the wind and she went ahead to weather the point of San Gregorio. Beyond it we found a good bay, which we had seen when we went on shore to survey. We stood into

this bay until the cape of San Vicente was shut in by that of San Gregorio, when we anchored in 20 fathoms, pebbles and lime in small pieces.[1]

On Sunday, the 21st of February, the dawn was clear and fine, but after sunrise the east wind began to blow, and as the sun rose, so the force of the wind increased. In the morning some natives appeared on the beach, who shouted to us and lighted fires. We answered with a white flag in token of peace; and Pedro Sarmiento intended to have sent on shore with some presents for them, when the wind increased so much that it was not thought advisable to send a boat at that time. To-day, all three of us took the altitude in 52° 31′ S., in which latitude is the point and bay of San Gregorio.[2] From that point another is in sight, bearing E.N.E. five leagues, being the one already named Nuestra Señora del Valle on the north coast, and between the two the coast curves round in a great bay, which was named the bay of the "Eleven Thousand Virgins".[3] From point San Gregorio another point appears on the south coast, which we named "San Isidro", S.E.—N.W. four leagues. Until noon it was cold, with a clear and serene sky, and in the afternoon it was more overcast and less cold. In this bay neither the flood tide nor the ebb tide run with such force. From the point of Nuestra Señora de Gracia to that of Nuestra Señora del Valle, a chain of hills extends about a league inland, not very high nor very low, and bare. Its length is more than eight leagues, and it gradually sinks down until it ends in the point of Nuestra Señora del Valle.

On the same Sunday, the wind and sea having gone down, natives again appeared on the beach shouting and

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[1] "Gregory Bay" of the Admiralty Chart.

[2] 52° 40′ S.

[3] This name has not been preserved.

waving. In order to see what they wanted, and to learn something of that land, Pedro Sarmiento went on shore in the boat with eighteen men. On arriving, only four natives showed themselves, with bows and arrows, making signs of peace, and saying, *Axijtate*, which means "Brothers". We jumped on shore, and the natives took up a position on a hillock, giving us to understand by signs that one was to come without arms. Sarmiento sent one unarmed with presents of beads, bells, and combs, which he gave them. Presently they said that he must go down, which he did. Then the Ensign went up alone, the General sending more gifts by him, which they received. But all this did not give them confidence. Seeing this, the General ordered the Ensign to come down, which he did. As they could not be reassured, either by gifts or caresses, Sarmiento determined to leave them, and to ascend the side of a ravine at a different part from where the natives were, so as not to alarm them, his object being merely to explore the hill and examine the channels. Forming his men in order, he went up the ravine by a slope. Before he could reach the top, the four armed natives came, and without any provocation, and after having received the gifts, they began to shoot many arrows at the General, who was in front, and at the Ensign and Chief Pilot who were with him. They shot five or six arrows with great force and swiftness. One struck the General between the eyes, and another on the right side, which was defended by the skin of a tapir. The rest were received on his shield. The Pilot was struck in the body and arms, and on his shield, and a soldier named Pedro de Aranda was hit in the eye. When he felt that he was wounded, he said, "They have killed me!" The Ensign, when he heard him, told him to turn back. The General, crying "Forward!" rushed down on the four Indians, who fled with such speed that, quickly as we reached the hillock which was close to, they were already

so far off that no arquebus could reach them. Forming the troops again, we continued the ascent of the hill to get a view of the country inland. We discovered some rolling hills between two hills, very pleasant to look upon, and covered with beautiful verdure like cultivated land. We could make out a number of shapes like houses, which we supposed to be the huts of those people. We did not go on because it was not desirable to leave the ship weak handed, and all hands are required when the fury of the tempest bursts, for which it is always necessary to be prepared, although this land has better weather than those we had passed. We returned for this reason, and on the way back we found two cloaks of sheep skin, with their wool like those of Peru, and some sandals. As the natives ran for their lives they must have thrown them away. We returned to the ship, where the wounded man was cured. That night it was fine at intervals, and there were squalls every now and then.

On Monday, the 22nd of February, it began to blow from N.N.E. at dawn with much force, changing to N. and then to N.W., which wind blew until eleven in the forenoon. At that hour it veered to W., then to S.W., and after a little it went down, when we got under way to proceed with our discovery. As the west wind continued and we had not room to run before it, because we were near the land, and as we were not certain of the direction the channel would take, also because it is necessary to anchor early each evening, we crossed to the other side, to the southern coast, to a bay six leagues N.N.W. of point San Gregorio. Arriving early, we anchored behind a point which had been already named San Isidro, in a little bay, surrounded by low land and sandy beaches, in ten fathoms, a quarter of a league from the land. As soon as we had come to, we sounded and found ourselves in seven fathoms. We were in ignorance how far the sea would recede, and we feared

that, as near low land the tide usually went out further, we might be left dry. So we weighed again and stood out with the wind blowing over the land from the S.W., anchoring again in 15 fathoms. Presently it began to blow very hard, and we dragged the anchor as the holding ground was bad, so we weighed once more and anchored a third time in nine fathoms, sandy bottom ; at low water the depth being six fathoms. At night the wind went down a little, though there were occasional squalls from the S.W. and W.S.W., with great cold, for those winds here bring the greatest cold. Still this region is warmer and has a better climate than those we had passed. Moreover, it is pleasant to look upon, is capable of sustaining a large population, and wild and tame flocks, and would yield grain. According to Felipe, the big native, the land yields cotton, which is the best proof of a mild climate, and cinnamon they call *cabca.*[1]

Here the sky is very clear, and the stars shine very bright, and are good for taking observations. The star *Crucero* is very serviceable, being 30 degrees from the Antarctic Pole ; and we used it for taking the height of the Pole, as we used the North Star in the northern hemisphere, although with a different computation. As this *Crucero* does not serve all the year round, but only for some months, Pedro Sarmiento took great pains to seek out another pole star nearer the Pole, with a shorter calculation, which would be more general and constant. As it is diligence that makes research bear fruit, God was served that he should make this discovery and verification. Thus during many clear nights, with great care, he adjusted the stars of *Crucero* and its pointers, and two or three pole stars of very small circumference, with the favour of God, which will be very useful to the curious navigators who may wish to profit by it during the portion of the year

[1] Probably Winter's bark.

when the *Crucero* cannot be used, which is the greater part of it.

He made use of this observation for the honour and glory of God, and others of this kind for certain verifications of latitude and longitude will be described elsewhere, in another part which will be the proper place. Now it does not seem appropriate to mix astronomy with descriptions of routes and itineraries.

At dawn on Tuesday, the 23rd of February, it was very cold and blew furiously from the west. As the land was low it did not protect or shelter us at all, and, that we might not carry away the only good cable we had left, although it was chafed in many places, yet it was our only help and salvation after God, it seemed best to our Chief Pilot and to Hernando Alonso that we should make sail and run before it, both with and against the tide. This we did, and continued to follow our strait, leaving a bay on the right which entered into the land more than six leagues. It was named the bay of "San Felipe",[1] beyond the point of San Isidro. We continued a N.N.E. course, thus crossing the strait to discover a narrow inlet that appeared ahead. We entered a bay on the north coast, named the bay of Santiago,[2] which bears N.—S., with San Felipe, and being well advanced that we might discover the narrow part, we sounded in 20 fathoms. Suddenly we got eight fathoms, and we had scarcely hauled the lead out of the water, and thrown it again with the greatest speed, when we got three fathoms. A sailor who was in the boat towing astern, thinking that the ship had touched (as he said), put a pole, two fathoms and a half long, into the water, and, before he had finished the whole length, reached bottom at two fathoms. This ship drew three fathoms, or very little less. We were all in mortal

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[1] "Philip Bay" of the Admiralty Chart, east of Isidro Point.

[2] "St. Jago Bay" on the Admiralty Chart, in 52° 33′ S., 69° 53′ W.

confusion, as those usually are who expect to be drowned and lost, by sea or land, and when there is no hope but in heaven. Remembering this, we commended ourselves to our Lady of Hope, the Mother of God, our Advocate, whose name this ship has, and her blessed Son miraculously saved us through her intercession. I give infinite thanks to my God and Lord, and to the most precious Mother, the Virgin Mary, who has shown us so many mercies in this discovery, liberating us in moments of death and from infinite dangers! Presently the ship was in 18 fathoms and more, the wind blowing furiously from the west. Under part of the foresail we entered the narrow, which is better than half a league across, with cliffs on either side, and three leagues long.[1] It bears E.N.E. and W.S.W. Here the current is very strong, and there is more than 50 fathoms of depth, sand and lime. On the north side there is a lime beach. This narrow was named by Pedro Sarmiento the narrow of "Nuestra Señora de Esperanza",[2] to whom we had commended ourselves in our danger. At the mouth, at the end of these three leagues, there is a narrow point on the north side which was named the "Punta Delgada",[3] and to S.E. of it there is a bed of seaweed at the end of the point, at the entrance of the narrow on the north side. It was named "Barranca", and the other opposite to it, on the south side, scarcely half a league across, was named "Punta Baja".[4] From the latter point the south coast trends E.N.E. for five and a half leagues, as far as a very low point which was named Anegada.[5] Points Anegada

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[1] Here it was proposed to establish the fortress. (*Note by the Spanish Editor.*)

[2] Called "First Narrows" on the chart.

[3] "Delgada Point" on the Admiralty Chart.

[4] Points Barranca and Baja are on the west and east sides of the "First Narrow" coming from the west, on the Admiralty Chart.

[5] Anagada Point is on the east side of the entrance to the "First Narrow", coming from the east, on the Admiralty Chart.

and Delgada bear from each other E.N.E.—W.S.W. three leagues. North of Anegada Point and joined to it there is a reef of seaweed which extends out to sea the distance of an arquebus shot, N. and S. On reaching Point Delgada, where the strait now has a width of a league, it blew so hard from the west that we sought shelter, as well because of the danger to the ship, as because we saw a risk of losing the boat and a sailor in it who was steering it, and was in much danger. So, as we passed Point Delgada, we discovered a large bay on the north side, which I named "Nuestra Señora del Remedio".[1] When we wished to enter it we saw an islet and a reef of rocks, with many beds of seaweed. We, therefore, did not dare to go in, but stood on to another point, 10 leagues from Punta Baja, E.N.E.—W.S.W., which the Captain named the "Point of Consolation",[2] the space between being a curved bay with low hills inland. Before reaching this point, being in 20 fathoms, it shoaled to four fathoms half a league from the shore, which once more put us in a state of anxiety, and again the Mother of God consoled us by delivering us from the danger. Hence the name of "Consolation" was given to the point. It is three leagues from Punta Anegada, N.N.E.—S.S.W., with the channel between them.

When we arrived at this Point of Consolation we took the altitude in 52° 30′ S.,[3] and from it another low point was in sight on the north side, bearing E.N.E. four leagues. I named it the cape of the "Virgin Mary",[4] the coast between being straight, with high cliffs. From Point Anegada the south shore trends to the south, and forms a great bay

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[1] This name has not been preserved.

[2] This name has not been preserved. It appears to be the Cape Possession of the Admiralty Chart.

[3] Cape Possession is in 52° 18′ S.

[4] Named Cape Virgins by Magellan: which name is preserved on the Admiralty Chart, in 52° 20′ S., 68° 21′ W.

which extends and widens the mouth of the strait to more than ten leagues. All we could make out was a coast N. and S. with the cape of the Virgin Mary 10 leagues. I called the cape of the land "Nombre de Jesus",[1] and the bay between it and Anegada was named "Lomas",[2] because a hill extends along this bay, with higher land than on the north side.

As we saw no more land to the east, and we feared we might come upon some lone coast, as we had done before, which would be very perilous without light, the Chief Pilot shortened sail, only leaving enough to give her steerage way, navigating so as to make little progress, only part of the distance we had made out from the mast head. In the first watch God was served that the wind and sea should go down. We then got the boat on board, with the sailor who was in it, with the favour of the Mother of God. At about 9 at night we began to steer E.N.E. in 20 or 22 fathoms, and after two hours we got $7\frac{1}{2}$ fathoms, three leagues S.E. from the cape of the Virgin Mary. We bore away to the right hand to S. and S.S.W. seeking greater depth, when it increased to 40 fathoms and more. We then steered S.E. and soon got only 13 fathoms, so turned S.W. and deepened to 22. Thus we continued, in the greatest anxiety, all night. The Pilots, Anton Pablos and Hernando Alonso did nothing but sound all night, and at dawn their hands, and those of the sailors who assisted them, were quite benumbed, from heaving and hauling in the lead out of the cold water. All this night the wind was light from W. and W.S.W., and it was fair weather.

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[1] This name has not been preserved. It is the "Catherine Point" of the Admiralty Chart, on the south side of the entrance to the Strait.

[2] This name is retained on the Admiralty Chart, between Anegada and Catherine Points.

It dawned clear on Wednesday, the 24th of February, but afterwards it clouded over. This day we came out of the strait of Madre de Dios. From this point the ship *Almiranta* should have returned, if she had not parted company before. But until she reached this point she had not complied with the orders of the Viceroy, besides having gone against the service of God and of his Majesty, as well as against his plighted word and many oaths, orders, and instructions, he showed little friendship and less charity to his companions, and did great harm, which might have been worse; for much was left undone which might have been done if the *Almiranta* had kept company with the *Capitana*. In the first place, if both ships were together there would not be so much danger if an enemy was encountered; and if one should be in danger, in the perils we had to face, she could have received help from the people of the other ship. When we went on shore we might have had a larger force, while the needful number would remain on board to guard against storms and enemies, and we could then have made ourselves better acquainted with the secrets of the land. It is necessary that, in such cases, misconduct should not be passed over, because this would excuse similar neglect of duty, whence would result great evils and losses.

The strait of Madre de Dios, from cape Espiritu Santo to that of Virgen Maria, is 110 leagues from the South Sea to the North Sea;[1] and further on I will state my opinion on the more important matters with reference to carrying out the intentions of the Viceroy, and on what relates to the principal object of the voyage.[2]

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[1] Fuller, Cavendish's pilot, gives 105 leagues as the length of the Strait.

[2] This must have formed the subject of a separate confidential report.

This Wednesday, that we came out of the strait, it blew very hard from the north, and for an hour from the east, at which time we were six leagues from the cape of the Virgin Mary, and we remained with the cape N.W. Here we took soundings in 12 fathoms—sand; and to get more clear of these shallow places, we made more sail, steering N.E. for two leagues. Here we sounded in 13 fathoms, being W.N.W. from the cape eight leagues. Half a league further we got four fathoms, and returning eastward for half a league we found 49 fathoms. We then continued E.N.E. a league an hour, and the Chief Pilot sounded in 70 fathoms. All the soundings were fine brown sand.

He who should come here, must take great care that he always has the lead in the chains, for it is very dangerous navigation, with many rocks and banks under water. All would be well if those who formerly passed this way had been diligent to make sailing directions, and to give notices with good figures and correct descriptions. But the notices they gave, which up to the present time have been made generally known, are misleading and mischievous, and would cause danger to a thousand fleets if trust was put in them, and will take away all confidence among very zealous and trusty discoverers, if something better is not provided. Praised be God our Lord and his blessed Mother St. Mary, who guided and directed, and suffered us to go forward without delivering our souls to the wiles of the Devil who sought our destruction, that this voyage might not have a good end. I trust in the Divine Majesty that it will result in good to His service, by planting His Holy Catholic Church in these lands, that the blind Gentiles may be instructed in the Holy Catholic faith of our Lord Jesus Christ, and that their souls may be saved.

He who would enter this strait of Madre de Dios by the mouth on the side of the North Sea, should not approach near to the cape of the Virgin Mary, because there is

shallow water as far out as two leagues. From 20 fathoms to the south, the channel has 50 and 40 fathoms. The approach should be made very carefully, and he should not go near the land on the right hand, that is, the north side, without the lead always in the chains, and with every precaution.

IX.

The Voyage to Spain.

BEING now in the open ocean, in 70 fathoms, the cape of the Virgin Mary bore east nine leagues, which is low land with grey cliffs near the sea, and the same hills inland as were seen from the point of Nuestra Señora del Valle. In the name of the most Holy Trinity we began to shape a course N.E. by E., with a fresh N.W. breeze, and the foresail reefed, for the weather was threatening, and the ship carried two girdlings on the masts and false nettings for the rigging. The main yard was lowered and placed fore and aft, and top masts struck, owing to the great lurches made by the ship in the heavy seas. Having steered this course for a league, we sounded in 53 fathoms—sand, and following the same course for about half an hour, measured by the glass, we sounded again in 70 fathoms—red sand. After another three hours, when we had gone three leagues, there was fine sand in 70 fathoms, and all night we went on under foresail and mizen, with a fair breeze from N.E. At dawn there were 75 fathoms—sand. From Wednesday morning to Thursday, at seven in the morning, we sailed N.E. by E., fifteen leagues by dead reckoning. From Thursday morning, the 25th of February, we steered N.W., and at noon we took the altitude in 51° 20′ S. Here we saw some large whales. From Thursday to Friday, the 26th, we steered N.E., and at noon took the altitude in 50° 37′ S., being 46 leagues from the mouth of the strait. Up to this time there was fine weather, neither heat nor cold to speak of, light wind and smooth sea.

From Friday, at noon, we went before the wind under all

sail for four hours S.W., and two hours S.W. by W. and N.E. by N. until Saturday, the 27th, at noon, when we took the sun in 49° 3′ S., altogether 31 leagues N.E. by E. From Saturday noon to Sunday at noon, the 28th of the month, with wind S.W., we steered eighteen hours to N.E. and six E. by N. The whole course N.E. by E. 34 leagues. We took the altitude in 48° S.

From Sunday, the 28th, with wind N.N.E., we went three leagues E., and at three in the afternoon we tacked and went N.W. six leagues, then N.W. by W. the wind freshened, with a heavy sea, which we feared might drive us on the land. So the pilots ordered sail to be shortened, and hove to. On the following Monday, at ten in the forenoon, they set the foresail and mizen, and we made a course W.N.W., with pleasant weather; for in these southern regions the north and north-west winds are moist but not cold. We went, on this course, four leagues. The wind then changed with much fury, raising a great sea. We furled the main and mizen sails, proceeding under the fore sail. There was such a sea that there were four men at the helm, two above and two below, who were unable to keep her on her course. All night we were at prayers, while both pilots were at the helm, ordering and working splendidly. The seas were very heavy, which poured into the ship. We kept the same course until Tuesday, the 1st of March, having gone 30 leagues by two in the afternoon. From that hour we steered N.E. by E., with the same gale blowing, until Wednesday. On that day we took the sun in 45° 40′ S., Anton Pablos making it 45° 10′ S., so that we had made 70 leagues since Sunday.

From Wednesday to Thursday, N.E., with the same wind and sea. Pedro Sarmiento took the sun in 44° 6′ S., Anton Pablos and Hernando Alonso in 43° 50′ S. We made 36 leagues. This day we hoisted another yard of the fore-

sail, as the wind had gone down a little, the sea in proportion, but we were always favoured by fortune.

From Thursday at noon it began to blow much harder from the S.W., and the sea rose much more than ever. In the afternoon it blew very hard in squalls, with showers of rain and snow. These swept over us furiously, leaving short intervals of fair weather, and then blowing harder than ever. It was such that we lowered the foresail down on deck, and remained all night in a storm of wind and sleet until next morning. It then blew more furiously still, so the Chief Pilot took in the foresail, and set another of only five cloths and of less drop, so as to be under more snug canvas. In this way, and with such weather, we went on until noon of Friday, steering N.E. by N. We took the altitude, Pedro Sarmiento and Hernando Alonso, in 43° 22′ S., and Anton Pablos in 42° 52′ S. The course N.E. by E., distance 18 leagues.

From Friday at noon both wind and sea went down a little, and we set the topsail on the mainmast. At two at night we took it in and set the mainsail, steering all night N.E. by E. On Saturday, at dawn, it blew furiously from N.W., and we prepared for a storm, taking in the mainsail, and leaving only the foresail to run. We made good 30 leagues by dead reckoning from Friday to Saturday.

From Saturday until Sunday, the 6th of March, we had this storm from N.W. and W.N.W. until five in the afternoon. It then went down, and the wind changed to S.W. That night we set the mainsail and steered N.E. until noon, when we took the sun in 41° S. Anton Pablos making it 40° 34′ S. Run from noon of Friday, 54 leagues.

From Sunday at noon it fell calm with warm weather, and at sunset the wind was N.E. to N.N.E. We steered all night N.W. by W., eight leagues, and from Monday to Tuesday morning, the 7th of March, N.W., four leagues. Then N.W. by W. one league. This day was very cloudy,

so that we could not take the sun. From one o'clock the wind was north, and we steered W.N.W. six leagues until six in the evening. At this hour the wind was N.W. and we steered N.E. by N. until midnight. In the morning watch her course was N.E. At noon on Tuesday, the 8th of March, we took the sun in 39° 46′ according to Sarmiento and Anton Pablos, while Hernando Alonso made it 39° 48′ S.

Tuesday at noon to Wednesday, the 9th, we steered N.E. with a fresh southerly breeze. Pedro Sarmiento took the altitude in 38° 30′ S., Anton Pablos making it 38°, and Hernando Alonso 38° 12′ S. The day was clear and the night serene. Distance made good 34 leagues. From Wednesday at noon we navigated until 6 in the evening with the wind abaft the beam. Then the wind changed to N.W. and N.N.W. blowing fresh, and we steered N.E. until the 10th of March. We took the sun in 37°. It was clear with a warm wind.

From noon on Thursday to noon on Friday, the 11th, we were on the port tack with the same N.W. to N.E. wind, eight leagues. The wind blew fresh, and all night and until noon on Friday, wind N.E. The Captain and Hernando Alonso then took the sun in 35° 36′ S. and Anton Pablos in 36° S.

From Friday at noon we steered N.E. until 3 o'clock, with fair weather and N.W. wind. At 3, a shower came from S.W. and brought the wind aft, but very little of it, and sometimes calm. In this way we went on until noon on Saturday, the 12th, when we took the altitude in 35° 12′ S. There were 12 leagues for the day's run.

From Saturday until Sunday, the 13th of March, we had the same fair weather with wind from N.E., and at night a squall with rain came from the south and took us aback. Afterwards we steered N.E. by N. with a fresh breeze—35 leagues made good. No sights this day.

It now began to be warm, with hot winds from all quarters, and the sea water was so warm that it seemed as if it had been heated by a fire, or at least by a very hot sun. On Sunday morning the wind changed to S.E., and we steered the same course as before with a fresh wind, which turned to S. during the night: returning to S.S.W. on Monday. We continued to steer N.E. by N. We calculated our distance made good at 36 leagues, not having taken sights.

From noon of Monday, the 14th of March, it blew from E.S.E. and we steered N.E. by N. until Tuesday, the 15th of that month, sometimes a little one way, sometimes a little on the other. I and Anton Pablos took the altitude in 32° 40′ S., which makes 90 leagues since Saturday. From noon on Tuesday we steered N.E. with wind from E.S.E., which freshened a good deal at night and made us take in the top sail; and on Wednesday morning the fore and main bonnets were taken off her. We went on under reefed foresail. At noon on Wednesday I took the altitude in 29° 20′: Anton Pablos making it 29° 30′. We made 29 leagues. This day, as the sun descended from the meridian towards the west, so the wind increased from E.S.E., causing some disturbance, but without raising much sea, as the winds were warm and light. Yet with all its goodness we had to caulk in the quarters of the bridge, as good big seas were coming in. But as we were habituated to much worse storms, we did not look upon this as one.

From noon of Wednesday, the 16th, to Thursday, the 17th, our course was N.E. and N.N.E., with the same wind. We took the altitude in 27° 15′ S. and made good 28 leagues. From Thursday to Friday, with much more wind from the same direction, and more sea, we proceeded under reefed courses, sometimes N.E. by N., at others N.N.E., and, owing to the heavy blows received from the sea on the starboard side, we went off to N. by E. to avoid

them. At noon on Friday we took the altitude in 26° 30′ S., having made 22 leagues. This day the sky became clear. From Friday at noon we steered N.N.E. with an E. and S.E. wind, until night: when suddenly a squall came upon us from the E. with such fury that, in spite of much haste to shorten sail, the foresail was split. The rain did not last long and was warm, but we made no more sail that night. On Saturday it was 11 before the sail was repaired, when we set it and continued the same N.N.E. course.

From Saturday, the 20th, at noon, we went until 10 at night 12 leagues on a course E.N.E., with the courses down. At 10 we had a squall from E.S.E. which made us shorten sail and heave to, and so we remained until Sunday, hoping for fine weather. It blew very hard from E. and E.N.E. with showers of rain, and the sea got up so that we were in great confusion, with much trouble from sea and wind, hove-to with her head N. and N.N.E. The wind went down and changed to S.E. at noon on Monday. As we feared that we were near the land, we turned her head to S. and S.S.E., because in this way we increased our distance. Seeing ourselves harassed by such bad weather, we prayed to our Lord God and to His most blessed Mother St. Mary our Lady, that we might be given fair weather; and Sarmiento made a special alm to our Lady of "La Antigua" at Seville. We further commended ourselves to the advocacy of our Lady of Consolation, and promised a pilgrimage on the part of the Father Vicar, Friar Antonio Guadramiro, and gave an offering for a flagellation at her holy house. We also promised another alm for a flagellation at the chapel of the Sacred Body, the Advocate in Seville for those at sea. Very soon afterwards it pleased God that the wind and sea should go down, and we made sail to double reefs, and steered S.S.E. and E., and at times more southerly until night, making five leagues S.S.E. All night

we continued the same course until morning—eight leagues. Then the wind began to blow from S.E., and we began to navigate on the other tack, N.E. by E. to E.N.E., until noon, the wind falling nearly calm. We took the sun at noon in 25° 30′, S., making our dead reckoning four leagues behind our position by observation.

From Tuesday to Wednesday, the 23rd of March, we had fine weather and a S.E. breeze, but rather overcast after dark, when the wind began to blow fresh from S.S.E. This night I took the star *Crucero* in 25°. On Wednesday morning the wind was S.E., and we shaped our course E.N.E. to clear the shoal of Abrohlo, on the coast of Brazil.[1] At noon the altitude was taken in 24° 30′. All this day there were rain showers, answering to the impression caused by the dark clouds, and among them not very dense black clouds. On all this coast the east winds are side winds, and east and west winds are warm and moist. The S.E. wind is not so warm as the E.S.E., and when the wind turns more south it is colder, because it comes from a region more remote from the torrid zone over which the sun travels.

From Wednesday to Thursday, the 24th of March, we navigated with the same winds with showers of rain. We steered E.N.E. and E. This night I took the star *Crucero* in 24° 15′, S., and on Thursday the altitude of the sun gave 23° 53′, course N.E. by E., 27 leagues. From Thursday to Friday, the 25th, we steered N.E. by N., with wind S.E., and there were some showers at night, coming down like mist or drizzling rain, for there is seldom heavy rain in this climate. At least, that was our experience. In the middle of the night we saw a rainbow, which philosophers call the bow of Iris. It was white, in counter-position to the moon which was setting, and reciprocating its rays, which, for

[1] The Abrohlos are in 17° 57′ S., 38° 41′ W.

antiperistasis, were in the opposite clouds. This is so curious a phenomenon that I have never seen it before, nor heard nor read of any other person having seen it, except in the narrative of Alberico Bespucio.[1] He says that he saw something like it in 1501. We took the sun in 23°, having crossed the tropic of Capricorn.

From Friday to noon on Saturday, the 26th of March, we steered N.W. and N. with a N.E. wind until night, and afterwards E.N.E., the wind having shifted. We took the sun in 23° S. according to me, while the result of Anton Pablos was 22° 20′ S., and of Hernando Alonso 22° 30′ S.

After noon of Saturday there was fair weather, and we sailed N.E by E. until Sunday at noon, when the General made the latitude 22° 45′ S., Anton Pablos 22° 30′ S.; being 24 leagues made good. That day we should have sighted the coast of Brazil in conformity with our observations and dead reckoning; but there were currents taking us east. From the previous day we began to experience great heat and calms.

From Sunday to Monday at noon we had a calm, and current S.E. At night light airs from N.W. and we steered N.E. by E.: but they died away towards morning. We made little progress. Monday at noon we took the altitude in 22° 25′. The heat was great in these days. We made six leagues E.N.E. That night I took the star *Crucero* in 22° S. All night it was fine, but we made scarcely any way, such as it was being N.E.—N.N.E.—N.—N.N.W., for the cards were never fixed in one place, and so we went on until noon on Tuesday, with calms and great heat. Calm all day. The altitude was taken in 22°. To-night the moon appeared with two great circles, one red which encircled it, and the other dark green which

[1] See p. 50 of the translation of the Letters of Vespucci (Hakluyt Society Series).

encircled the red one. The moon appeared very red, held to be a sign that wind was approaching. It was calm until 4 on Wednesday afternoon, and then a breeze sprang up from S.E. We steered N.E. and N.N.E., the wind veering to E., light, with a smooth sea. So we went all night N.E. and N.E. by E. I took the star *Crucero* and the Pole Star in 21° 47′ S. At noon our result was 21° 30′ S.

Our perplexity was very great, for many times we expected to make the land, and yet we never saw it. Although we knew our position as regarded latitude, we were ignorant of our longitude. Sarmiento knew how to find it, but he had no instrument for the observation. Necessity is the mother of invention, and Sarmiento made a kind of cross-staff with which to observe for longitude. With this instrument, with God's help, on the 31st of March, the General took the degrees of longitude, by the full of the moon and the rising of the sun, and found we were 18° W. of the meridian of Seville.[1] From this it clearly appeared that the current had taken us to the east more than 220 leagues. Sarmiento informed the pilots of this, but as it is a study which they had not learnt, they did not believe it, and said it was impossible.

From Thursday to noon on Friday, the 1st of April, 1580, we steered N.E. by E., N.E. by N., and N.N.E. before changeable winds. That night I took the Pole Star in 21°. Glory and honour be to God! and I give infinite thanks that, by His assistance, I found this star, as well as

[1] This cross-staff must have been constructed to enable Sarmiento to observe an unusually large angle; so as to take the sun's lunar distance. The method of finding the longitude by lunar distance was first suggested by Werner in 1522. But this is the first time that it is recorded that a lunar observation for finding the longitude was taken at sea. The next recorded lunar observation was by Baffin.—See *Baffin's Voyages* (Hakluyt Society).

the longitude, all coming from His hand. Navigators may take advantage of these two rules and derive profit and recreation from them, giving thanks to our Lord God. I took the altitude in 20° 33′ S. and we made 23 leagues N.E.

From Friday at noon, sometimes with light airs, at others with a fresh E.S.E. breeze, we went to N.E. and N.N.E. until noon of Saturday, when we took the altitude in 19° 40′ S., being 24 leagues N.N.E., not counting the current. In the night an exhalation ran across the sky, thick, like a sceptre, and went into pieces. It came from E.S.E.—the colour blue and white. It was in the first watch, and denoted wind from that quarter, which came at dawn.

From Saturday to Sunday, the 3rd of April, with an E. and E.S.E wind, we steered N.E. by N. and N.E., clear, with two or three showers. This day Sarmiento took the altitude in 17° 20′ S. We had now doubled the shoals and banks of the Abrohlos, according to our latitude, and we must have been more than 200 leagues to the eastward of them. These Abrohlos, on the coast of Brazil, are reported to run 40 leagues out to sea.

From Monday to noon on Tuesday, the 5th of April, we went N.N.E. and N. by E., with an easterly wind. We took the altitude in 15° 57′ S., Hernando Alonso making it 15° 40′ S. From Tuesday to Wednesday at noon our course with N.N.E., with a fresh breeze; allowing something because I suspected the current was taking us E.N.E. We took the altitude in 14°. From Wednesday to Thursday, at noon, we went N.N.E. with an easterly wind, taking the altitude in 12° S. From Thursday to Friday, the 8th of April, we went N.N.E., with the same wind. We took the altitude in 9° 32′ S., making good 45 leagues. From Friday to Saturday we steered the same course with the same wind. I took the altitude in 7° 12′ S., Anton Pablos

making it 7° 42′ S.; by my calculation we made good 46 leagues.

From Saturday at noon, with the same fresh S.E. breeze and smooth sea, we steered E.N.E., and at five in the afternoon we came in sight of a lofty island bearing E.S.E., eight leagues. When he saw it, Pedro Sarmiento said that it was the island of Ascension, which is on the route to India. He knew this from the observation he had taken yesterday, and by the dead reckoning, with his observed longitude, before mentioned, as a departure. In order to reach it he braced up and hauled out the bowlines; but night came on before we could arrive, so we steered N.E. by E. during the first watch, and from midnight altered course to S. On Sunday, at two in the afternoon, we anchored off the island of Ascension.

On Sunday, at two in the afternoon, we anchored, as has been said, in front of the port, and sandy beaches to the N.W. This day we could not go on shore to find a secure berth. On Monday morning, Pedro Sarmiento sent men on shore to look for water, who did not find any. Hernando Alonso, who had been on shore, sent some small pigs, and some turtles which were so large that it required the boat's tackles to hoist them in. There were many crosses, which we afterwards found had been set up by Portuguese who were shipwrecked on the way from India. As they died the survivors set up crosses, and finally they all died. Some crosses were also set up by Portuguese on their way to India, for we found a board nailed on a cross with this inscription in large letters: — DON JOAN DE CASTEL-RODRIGO, CAPITAON MOR, CHEGOU AQUI CON 5 NAOS DA INDIA EN 13 DE MAYO 1576. The inscription was put back in the place where it was found, and with it was set up another board as a memorial of the arrival there of the first ship from Peru, which passed through the strait from the South Sea to the North Sea in the service of his

Majesty, sent by the Viceroy, and with a statement of the object. We could not find water, although we were informed afterwards, at the island of Santiago, that there is water on the south side of the island. There is much fish here, and we killed a quantity, salting them down for our provisions. We also killed many sharks, because they interfered with our catching the small fish. Here there are also many birds, of which we took some. They are so greedy that they will take anything: some are boatswain birds, and *rabihorcados*, as they are called. They even made a dash at the hat that the Ensign was wearing on his head; and to take a letter he had in his hand they came back, again seizing the hat. He held it while the birds pulled at it. It ended with their carrying off the letter, and there was a great fight over it in the air. Near the land there were such shoals of fish that the men killed them with knives out of the boat. It is a dry and hot land, but with great abundance of very large tortoises. Here we took the altitude in 7° 30′ S., in which latitude is this island of Ascension.[1] The port is on the N.N.W. side, and we afterwards ascertained that there is another better port on the south side, where there is water.

It is well worthy of notice that the observation which the General Pedro Sarmiento took for longitude was shown to have been correct, as well as the calculation he made. For by the reckoning at the hour we sighted the island of Ascension, we judged ourselves to be only 70 leagues from Pernambuco, and we were thus 400 leagues to the east of our supposed position, as calculated by the latitude only. The currents deceived us to the extent of 340 leagues, which was proved by the observation for longitude. The experience given us by the island was

[1] Ascension is in 7° 55′ 56″ S.

the proof of this, though with a slight error as I shall explain presently.[1]

When we were navigating along the coast of Paraguay and San Vicente, by dead reckoning, we were looking out for the land, but never sighted it. We laid the blame on the charts being false, and badly drawn and painted. This was our belief until the observation for longitude was taken. Although this is so in some instances, it was not the case on the present occasion, beyond an error of two degrees of longitude, for Pedro Sarmiento examined them with much care, as a matter which concerned him nearly to ascertain. It is a matter of great importance to know this rule for finding the longitude, in long and doubtful voyages of discovery—*y quan poco se dan por ello, por no trabajar un poco mas de lo ordinario.* Some day, with the help of our Lord God, I will set forth this rule in such a way as will enable those to make use of it who desire to do so; and at the end I will add some notable directions for this navigation. Being satisfied respecting this observation and rule for finding the longitude, Pedro Sarmiento wished to try it in fixing the position of this island, so as to test the one observation with the other. So, on the 12th of April, he took the longitude at 6 h. 12 m. in the morning and, after having worked it out, he found that the island of Ascension was 3° W. of the meridian of Cadiz,[2] which is further to the east than it is placed on the Portuguese charts by a whole degree, equal to 17½ leagues. So that the position of this island has to be corrected both for latitude and longitude, with reference to the charts of the Portuguese. It is more to the east by a degree, and its latitude has to be reduced by half a degree[3]; for it is in 7° 30′, and they place it in

[1] Or rather—in another place. He does not revert to the subject in this journal. [2] 14° 23′ 50″ W. of Greenwich, and 8° 6′ 13″ W. of Cadiz.

[3] Sarmiento's longitude is nearer the truth, but the Portuguese latitude is correct.

8° S. Otherwise their chart is well drawn, so far as we could judge.

While we were here we mended the sails and repaired the masts, yards and rigging, for all had been much knocked about during the storms and bad weather. Although they had often been repaired, no human power could renovate the injury done by wear and tear of all kinds. We did the best that was possible, and at two o'clock in the morning of Monday, the 11th of April, with the favour of our Lord God, in His most holy name, we made sail from this little island, and shaped a course N.N.E. until Tuesday, the 12th. That night I observed the star *Crucero* in 5° 45′, S. From Tuesday to Wednesday we continued the same course. At noon we took the sun in 4° 21′, S., being 56 leagues made good since leaving Ascension.

From Wednesday to noon on Thursday, the 14th of March, we went on the same course with fine weather, and the same on Friday, when we took the altitude in 1° 25′, S., 42 leagues made good since Wednesday. From Friday to Saturday we steered north, with wind from S.E. I took the sun and found we were 2′ S. of the equator, having made 20 leagues. From Saturday to Sunday at noon, with the same wind and the same course, we made 17 leagues. I took the altitude in 1° N. Glory to God Almighty! To-day it is 52 days since we left the strait of Madre de Dios and entered the North Sea, and now we are on the north side of the equator, and one day after another we diminish the altitude.

From Sunday to Monday, the 18th of April, with the same wind, we made 18 leagues, by dead reckoning: for this day was cloudy and we could not take the sun. Here we verified what we had noticed several times before respecting the quality of the wind from the Antarctic Pole, that is, from the south and S.W. or S.E., that it is cold and dry, with a clear sky and a bright sun, and that rain ceases.

The northerly winds, on the contrary, are warm and humid, bringing overcast skies and rain. But north of the equator there is a change. The south winds are damp and warm, with clouds and rain, while the cold and dryness come from the north and disperse the rain clouds. This is of much importance for those who write repertories, for they generally write of one pole as if it was for the world in general. It should be noted respecting the plagues and diseases of the world, as well as touching winds, climates, and other qualities, that the active and passive rules are not of general application, but according to the various regions. On this subject I could give fuller reasons and rules, and write much more at large on what I have noted and observed during many years, in many and varied regions: but this is not the place. If God should be served by it, I will do so at some future time for the benefit of my friends.

From Monday to Tuesday, the 19th of April, we steered north for six hours with a fair S.S.E. wind; and continued until sunset. At 10 in the night there was heavy rain and we collected some water, which was a great comfort, for the heat was excessive, and the water we had was getting very low, and the rations very precious. During the night we shortened sail, and in the morning went on again N.N.E. At noon we were in 2° 40′ N.

From Tuesday to Wednesday, the 20th of April, we steered N.N.W. with rain showers and light winds, every now and then the wind freshening up, until Wednesday afternoon when some heavy rain caused a calm. The light airs from the south took us north until 9 at night; when I took the star *Crucero* in 4° 30′ N. On Thursday the same weather continued until Saturday with terrible heat. On Sunday at noon we took the sun in 5° 50′ N. At 10 o'clock on Tuesday a squall of rain came upon us, with so much wind, and so suddenly, that we were caught with all sail set. We carried away the mizen yard, and

had much trouble in getting in the sails. The Portuguese call these sudden squalls. They are heavy, dangerous, and terrible in their effects unless a very good look out is kept. Many ships have been thus endangered, and to escape from them the ships which used to take this route to India have given it up. With all this trouble we also got some good, for we were able to collect water, a supply without which we should have been in evil case. Here some of the people began to fall sick, for this region is very prejudicial to health. After the squall and rain had passed over, and the yard had been fished, we made sail, and shaped a course to the north, sometimes on a bowline and at others with the wind aft. At noon, on the 27th of April, we took the altitude, Sarmiento and Hernando Alonso, in 7° 15′ N. We had made good since Monday 25 leagues.

From Wednesday to Thursday, the 28th of April, we went north, but on Thursday the wind changed to N.N.W. and we steered N.E. and N.E. by E. I took the sun in 8° 30′ N., Hernando Alonso in 8° 10′ N. We made good 22 leagues. This day, as by the reckoning we ought to be near land, and the sea seemed to be deep, we sounded at 2 in the afternoon, and got 15 fathoms—sandy bottom—being 15 leagues from the shore. After standing on for an hour we sounded again in 14 fathoms and land came in sight, and sounding once more we got 15 fathoms. There is here a great quantity of fish. Steering N.E. by N. and N.N.E. we saw the land of Sierra Leone on the coast of Guinea, in Africa, ten leagues to the east, the ship being then in 22 fathoms.

Sierra Leone is a famous land in Guinea for the trade in gold and slaves. The Portuguese ships were accustomed to touch here on the voyage to India; but owing to the sickness causing many deaths, the country being unhealthy, as well as to escape the storms, this route was

abandoned, and one was adopted leading outside the Cape Verde Islands.

Soon afterwards we sighted another land, not so high, which was the islets named "the Idols".[1] All night we were sounding in 8, 10, 20, 22 fathoms—sand; and towards dawn we encountered a squall to which we shortened sail, again setting the main and foresails when it had passed. Our course was N. and N.N.E., and then tacked to keep clear of the reefs near the shore S.E. At dawn we were ten leagues from the land, in sight of a high chain of mountains, forming high peaks—continuous with the Sierra Leona. All this coast has a depth of 10 fathoms or more; the sea outside 15, 8, 10, 22, and in places 28 fathoms. Continuing to shape a course W.N.W., on Friday, the 29th of April, I took the sun in 9° 12′ N. Land was in sight, distant 12 leagues.

From Friday to Saturday, the 30th of April, we proceeded with the same winds between W.N.W and W., with fine weather generally, but occasional squalls which obliged us to shorten sail to the sprit-sail and a reefed foresail. We made a N.W. course 20 leagues until Saturday at noon. In this part there are currents to the south. The shoal waters of Guinea come out more than 15 leagues into the sea here, and in other places more than 20 leagues.

From Saturday to Sunday, the 1st of May, our course was N.W. At 8 in the evening I took the north star for the first time this voyage, in 9° 48′ N. It blew N.N.W. on Sunday morning and we steered west, and E.N.E. until noon. I took the sun in 10° S. Anton Pablos and Hernando Alonso the same. Went on W.N.W. a little westerly.

From Sunday to Monday, the 2nd of May, there was the same fair weather, with calms and light northerly airs, until midnight, the ship all round the compass, then a breeze

[1] Ilhas dos Idolos, north of Sierra Leone.

from N.W. Latitude at noon 10° 13′ N. Here we judged that the waters of the Rio Grande of Guinea had taken us to the westward, and we saw many signs of the current of the river N.E. and S.W. We made 10 leagues. From Monday, at noon, we sailed N. for five hours, and sounded in 22 fathoms—rocky bottom. By this we understood that we were near the shoals of cape Nuño Diego; and the islands they call of the "Bixagoos",[1] who are valiant negroes, great archers, and very dexterous, shooting a mortal poison, which makes those who are hit by it die of rabies. At this hour we touched and went with little wind W.S.W., to get clear of the shoals, for although there was shoal water, we could not see land, which made us think there was great danger. This we afterwards found to be the case. We stood out for three hours, and then turned towards the land, N.E. all night, always getting into shoaler water down to $7\frac{1}{2}$ fathoms. Then we sighted rather high land. At six in the morning we tacked and stood S.W., when we got 12 fathoms, so again stood in for the land N.E. On Tuesday, the 3rd, at noon, we took the altitude, and all three observers had 10° 48′ N. as the result. We made good since yesterday 14 leagues, and now six leagues from the land in 11 fathoms of water.

From Tuesday to Wednesday, the 4th of May, we had fine weather, with calms and light winds. Latitude 11° 12′ N. At noon we saw the appearance of breakers at a distance of a league, and tacked to avoid them, going S. and S.S.E. until midnight, 24 fathoms of depth. At this hour, steering W.N.W., a squall came down upon us, with much wind and rain, catching us again with all sail set. God helping, with great diligence we got the sails off her, though the fore and main courses were blown to pieces. After it passed we were becalmed until morning, when there was a

[1] The Bissagos Islands at the mouth of the Rio Grande.

breeze from the north, and we steered W.N.W. At noon, on the 5th of May, we took the altitude in 10° 30′ N., being at that time in 13 fathoms.

From Thursday to Friday, the 6th of May, we found ourselves on the shoals, and steered S.S.W. and S.W. to get out of them. Latitude 9° N.; losing 28 leagues in our flight from the shoals, and the current being south. There were calms until midnight, and then some winds from S.W., so we steered N.W. until Saturday, when the wind fell. Latitude 10° 30′ N. On the 11th the latitude was 10° 53′ N., according to the Pilots.

Many things made us anxious and tired during these days. The most frequent were the calms, the great heat, and the sudden squalls; which were the cause of much sickness. Some suffered from fevers, which is a pestilence that carries people off very rapidly in this land of Guinea. Others suffered from eruptions and tumours; others from contractions of the nerves in legs, arms, and in the teeth. Especially a disease broke out which was contagious, and emitting an insufferably bad odour. It swells the gums, forms abscesses, and many die of it, while he who does not die suffers terribly. Besides all this there was the want of water, and the fearful heat which burnt the deck, melted the pitch, and opened the seams between the boards, which was the reason why the ship made more water than she had ever done before. I believe that if God had not succoured us by sending us some rain showers, which enabled us to collect some water, we should have suffered from the great danger in which thirst would have placed us. As we had no means of curing the sick, the belief that they would never recover was general among them.[1] God alone sup-

[1] None died, however, as appears from a comparison of the list of men made in the Strait of Magellan, with the list made at the end of the voyage, allowing for eight men forming the crew of the *Concepcion*.

ported us miraculously. May His name be praised for ever and ever! Amen.

When we wanted to increase our latitude to reach the Cape Verde Islands, where we intended to refit, with the aid of the light wind which, by good fortune, sprang up, we presently found ourselves among such shoals and breakers that, to escape drowning, we stood out to sea, and thus lost what we had gained, which was what vexed us more than anything; but in all the God of Heaven and Earth, our Lord, gave us consolation.

On this same Sunday, after noon, with a fresh W.N.W. breeze, we steered N. and N.E. for three hours. Then the wind came to W. (a very rare occurrence in these latitudes), and we altered the course to N.N.E., and afterwards to N. At night it again shifted, and we steered N.N.W. until noon on the 9th of May, when Pedro Sarmiento took the altitude in 11° 50′ N., Anton Pablos the same, and Hernando Alonso 11° 40′ N. We made good 17 leagues.

From Monday to Tuesday, the 10th of May, we had calms, and the flood tide going to the Rio Grande of Guinea, off which river we were, drifted us towards the land until we were in 10 fathoms of water. Mindful of the great danger of these low lands, we dropped an anchor until the tide ceased to flow, intending to make sail again with the ebb, for we must necessarily get out to sea. As soon as the tide turned we got under weigh and steered N.W. by N., sounding all through the night. We were in much anxiety, for we had no sooner found ourselves in eight or ten fathoms than we got a sounding in six and less, and thus we were all night among banks and currents. When we heard a noise, like the rushing of a river, we sounded, and got very little depth. We passed many of those banks which the Portuguese call *Alfaques*.[1] This is a most dan-

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[1] A shelf or ridge of sand in the sea.

gerous coast for large ships, which should not be allowed to take this route without a special pilot for the coast of Guinea, on pain of running the risk of being lost at any moment, and of going through the fatigue of incessant sounding, and of taking many directions to get out of these banks. Steering S.E. we got 20 fathoms, presently we tacked and stood to N.W. and W.N.W. This day I took the altitude in 11° 51′ N., when we were in 30 fathoms. We had made good 16 leagues.

From Tuesday to Wednesday, the 11th of May, we steered W.N.W. with fine weather, changing the course during the day according to the depth, and at noon we were in 12° 16′ N. From Wednesday to Thursday, after many tacks, we again found ourselves in 14 fathoms : so we stood out to sea W.N.W. and N. At this point we got no bottom in 40 fathoms, which gave us great content. Glory to God ! On the 13th of May, at noon, we all three took the altitude in 12° 48′ N. Our corrected course up to the 17th of May, at noon, was W.N.W. We took the altitude in 14° 20′ N. The current was against us, taking us to the S. On the 20th of May it fell calm, and afterwards there was a light wind from N. We took the altitude in 15° 30′ N.

On Sunday, the 22nd of May, we were near the land and hove to, and on the 23rd steered S. before the wind without sighting it. But we came in sight of two sail which at first we thought were Portuguese on the way to Guinea. Presently we stood for them, to speak them, and, examining them attentively, we made out that one was a ship and the other a launch, standing towards us in pursuit. We then suspected that they were pirates and that they were working to get to windward of us. When we recognized their character we were near and, by the favour of God, this ship *Nuestra Señora de Esperanza* got to windward, and when we found ourselves at a distance of a cannon shot, we were all ready, each man at his station,

without any one appearing, except he who moved from one part to another. Thus we proceeded one against the other, the launch going ahead to reconnoitre. When she was within a stone's throw to leeward, Pedro Sarmiento ordered the Chief Pilot to make signs to her with a flag for two objects. The first signal was one of peace, because we saw the arms of Portugal in the banner of the large ship. If they were pirates they would understand that we called them to come on board, as people we despised. The reply was to show us a naked sword and to fire a musket shot. We answered with another shot and she passed on. The ship passed us closer than the launch, and, without speaking each other, she strove to get the weather gage. She and our ship manœuvred to fall upon each other, and thus we continued until after noon. The pirates sailed well, especially the ship. She was handsome and recently equipped, with very good sails—two large bonnets on her main sail. Our ship had her bottom covered with weed and barnacles, from the long voyage, which greatly impeded her way. Thus we closed a little with the pirate, though not to windward, but when we sighted them they were several points to windward.

The launch was ahead of the ship, but when the wind freshened she had to shorten sail and so fell astern, and we came up with her—though she was some way to leeward. At this time we tacked and stood north, in sight of the port of the city of Santiago of Cape Verde. The French ship had a crew of 85 men as we afterwards learnt, besides 25 in the launch. She carried seven large pieces of artillery and many arquebuses ; while we only had two pieces and 17 arquebuses, with a crew of 54 men, many of them sick. When the pirate came up under our quarter, we fired a piece, and presently she replied with another. Neither the one nor the other did any damage. The Frenchman seconded this with a discharge of arquebuses, and this

ship replied with better effect, for the powder of Peru excells all other powders hitherto known. They made many holes in our sails, and we could not see what happened on board the pirate, except that we saw some who were on deck go below. Then the pirate fired other pieces and volleys from the muskets and arquebuses, so that our mizen was torn to pieces. This ship then fired another cannon, and volleys with regularity, from which it is believed they received damage. Upon this the enemy fired all her cannons at our *Capitana*, but God was served that no one should be hurt, although the shot passed between us. One passed so as to touch the point of Sarmiento's beard, as he was passing fore and aft giving orders, and seeing to the supply of ammunition. Those who were in the bows of our ship fired certain arquebus shots at those who were in the bows of the Frenchman, and it is believed with effect, for they were seen to disperse, and some went below. While they were firing volleys and we were not idle, the enemy sounded a bugle, and Sarmiento replied with a drum, and hoisted the signal of your Majesty. With this, and the striking of a bell, they were seized with such alarm that at once they went before the wind and made off with greater diligence than when they had come on. We did not chase them, as it would have been time lost, for those ships run before the wind much better than we could; besides night was coming on, and I did not carry a commission. For these and many other good and sufficient reasons, we continued on our voyage.

The people of this ship of your Majesty's behaved very well, so much so that if they had arrived at close quarters, although the others were more numerous, they would not have gained in the transaction, so far as we could judge from what we saw of them, above all with the favour of our Lord God.

The people of the city of Santiago looked on at our

fight with the pirates, and thought we were French, and that the skirmish was a bird-call to bring out the Portuguese to our help thinking we were Portuguese, when they would have been taken by the pirates, and for this cause they were looking on. When the thieves had been put to flight a large caravel of *Algarve*, arrived from Portugal, came out to us and told us that our assailant was a pirate who had committed robberies off Cape Blanco, on the coast of Africa, and had plundered four other ships. He carried 85 men in the ship, and 25 in the launch, and had a Portuguese pilot on board. At the island of Mayo, near Santiago, he had sunk an armed caravel belonging to the fleet which went to colonise Paraiba, where the English formed a settlement in past years and collected the Tapuya Indians there. Finally we arrived and anchored in the port of Santiago of Cape Verde, on Monday night, the second day of Easter, being the 23rd of May 1580. Before we anchored boats came from the town to ascertain what ship we were, and whence we came. When they were told that we came from Peru, by the Strait of Magellan, they were silent from incredulity. Without wishing to come on board, they went back with the news that we were a very ill-looking lot, that some of us wore long hair (alluding to the natives of Peru and Chile we had on board), and that our faces were so forbidding that they would bring us nothing. In truth, the powder and sweat of the encounter a little before, had not left us very good looking; for we had been too sparing of water to look beautiful. After we had anchored, the Governor, Gaspar de Andrade, sent the Judge of Health to visit us and to see whether we came from any place where there was plague, for in that case we should not have been allowed to land, which was a poor consolation for our necessities and for the sick who were so sorely in need of help. On the back of this examination, they came again to test us, and decide whether we were

Spaniards or pirates in disguise, for most of them were of the latter opinion. They went so far as to say that even if we were Spaniards and not pirates, they must then be even more cautious, because we might have been sent secretly by your Majesty to get possession of the city and island by treachery. When they were at length satisfied, the whole town came to see us and to hear about our voyage, declaring it to be astounding and miraculous, and saying that they took it for impossible. This day we sent the sick on shore to be cured, for many of them were suffering severely from the diseases of Guinea. The Portuguese said that they looked upon it as a greater miracle that we escaped the *Alfaques* and banks of Guinea, than the storms of the Strait.

On Wednesday morning Pedro Sarmiento went on shore with all the ship's company, in procession and bare foot, with some images and crosses in our hands. We went to the church of our Lady of the Rosary, where we confessed, heard mass sung, and took the sacrament, giving to the officials the alms we had vowed, and more. We gave thanks to our Lord Jesus Christ and to His most precious Mother, for having rescued us from many hardships, and brought us to a Christian land. We also gave the alms for the house of our Lady of the Rosary, and for the poor. What we brought for masses we gave to him who would say them for us, and for the souls in purgatory. Having done this we went to visit the Governor, who was ill, and the Bishop. By all we were lovingly received.

Presently we began to clean the ship, to caulk and grease, mend the sails, cordage and spars, and boat, which was all in pieces ; also to water the ship, and to clean the water-jars, as if we were just setting out on a voyage. This was necessary, seeing that we arrived in such a condition and in want of everything. Things were so dear that the money that Sarmiento had did not suffice. He was obliged

to borrow, and that being insufficient, he was forced to sell even nails to make up the sum required. The water cost us as much as if it had been wine, and from one point of view even more, counting the jars which the negro water-carriers stole from us, besides their pay. Although these are very minute details, yet I am desirous of giving an exact account of everything.

Among the urgent business which was included in the objects of the voyage, the Viceroy's instructions desired that information should be collected touching the proceedings of the English, as well of those who passed into the South Sea with Francisco Draquez, as of others who, according to news which had reached Peru, had settled in Brazil or Paraguay. Pedro Sarmiento made enquiries, and learnt what will be stated further on, from an Algarve Pilot belonging to the vessel which came out to receive us, when we had finished the encounter with the Frenchman. The substance of what he said on oath was as follows :—

On the 15th of December 1579, between Ayamonte and Tavila, this man conversed with two principal English merchants respecting the affairs of the Indies, and of the English who had passed into the South Sea. The Englishmen said that Francisco Draquez, who committed the robberies in the South Sea, was now in England, having arrived there with two ships, very richly laden, last September, having a cargo of plate and valuable things. He made a great present to the Queen of England, who was pleased, and made much of him. Presently the same Captain Francisco got ready five ships to proceed to the Strait and search for those which had been lost there, and then pass onward. They took provisions for three years, and the same Captain Francisco remained to get eight more ships ready. The above five ships left England in December 1579. They further said that 15 days before the Master of the same fleet of Captain Francisco left Ayamonte with

a ship laden with oil and wine, for provisions for the same fleet of Captain Francisco, which he did with much diligence, and in a very short time. Those who thus conversed with the said witness appeared to be men of great credit, and they talked to him in this way because, understanding he was a Portuguese, he would not repeat it to Spaniards, and that, therefore, there was no reason to be cautious with him. He swore this before the Royal Notary, and the document remains in my possession.

I also learnt from the same man that when he was robbed by the Frenchmen who fought with his ship, he heard the same Frenchmen say that, after robbing one or two ships laden with negroes off Cape Verde, they went to Margarita, and thence to Yaguana, on the north side of the island of San Domingo, and that it was then not four months since English ships had come to Yaguana laden with hides and sugar, and that they had seized the Governor of Puerto Rico, but did him no further harm because he was ransomed, but they killed Captain Barbudo, who had put the English to death in Margarita. The English carry Portuguese Pilots.

From Pilots and Captains of Brazil, who had recently come from Brazil and returned there, I got very sure intelligence that a great number of English, eight years ago, entered the bay of Paraiba, near Rio de Janeiro, which is in 21° 20′ S., and settled there. They were some time among the Tapuya Indians, natives of that land, and they have a generation of women of the land. Three years ago the Portuguese, who settled in Rio de Janeiro, went against these English and killed a number of them, those who escaped taking refuge with the natives in the interior. It is believed that the natives have killed and eaten them, for the Indians in those parts are great feeders on human flesh, and have public butchers' shops of it.

Besides this, other Englishmen settled in a bay to the

north of Pernambuco, which is the first in Brazil, and were settled in a bay called "Grande", the native name of which is Paraiba, whence it had not hitherto been possible to drive them. For this object a fleet of four vessels, two large galleons and two caravels, was fitted out in Portugal with many married and unmarried settlers to colonise Paraiba, which is in 5° 30′ S., and to drive out the English. This Portuguese fleet, before arriving at the Cape Verde Islands, was scattered by a storm. The large galleon arrived at the port of Santiago with 400 men on board, and went on to Brazil. The other ship arrived after her, and 13 days before we came to Santiago. One of the caravels went to the island of Mayo, where the French pirate sank her, and killed the Pilot and Master. This was what I learnt here respecting the English who were reported in Peru to have settled in Brazil.

Having got this intelligence, I determined to comply with what the Viceroy ordered in his instructions, to give him notice of all that had occurred in this voyage and discovery up to this point. It was not possible to do this by way of Paraguay or Brazil on account of the currents which carried us to the eastward. Thus was God served that we should come here to be enabled to send intelligence of what was known here, but which could not possibly be known there. With this object I bought a moderate sized vessel for 330 ducats, and provided her with all that was necessary, as well men as provisions, that she might go to Nombre de Dios, and that thence the news might be conveyed to Panama and Peru, in obedience to orders received. While we were making these arrangements, the French pirates, with whom this ship had fought, came within three or four leagues of this fort, so that no vessel dared to go out for fear of the Frenchmen: the people of this ship always being ready with their arms, day and night.

In the morning of Saturday, the 4th of June, the French

ship and launch passed at a distance of less than a cannon shot from this port of Santiago, with another vessel ahead of them. Every one believed that the ship in front must be one which departed two days before for Brazil, and which had been taken and robbed by the Frenchmen. Pedro Sarmiento sent to say to the Governor, and his Serjeant-Major, Francisco de Andrada, that such a state of things must be remedied. The Governor, all the citizens, and the Bishop, sent to entreat Pedro Sarmiento that, for the love of God, he being the vassal of a King so powerful as his Majesty, and the uncle of their King, that he would protect them, as they had no other protector at that moment, and avenge them of so great an affront as to allow the pirate to steal that Portuguese ship before their eyes. They would give us all the men and artillery we wanted, and a Spanish ship, well fitted, which was there taking in negroes.

Pedro Sarmiento, for these and other weighty reasons, and principally for the honour of his Majesty, resolved to comply, for as they sought the favour from the servants and vassals of his Majesty, we could not deny them. Moreover, the Governor, thinking that I should wish him to keep his word, presently sent on board his Lieutenant and Serjeant-Major, Francisco de Andrada, with 70 arquebusiers and other arms, including three good pieces of artillery. Another Portuguese, named Manuel Diaz, with as many men, went on board the Spanish ship. Sarmiento also got the other vessel ready which he had bought to send to Nombre de Dios, arming her with two falcons, and some arquebusiers under the command of the Serjeant-Major, Hernando Alonso. Then Pedro Sarmiento went out with the *Nuestra Señora de Esperanza* and the smaller vessel, ordering the Spanish ship to follow him promptly, in pursuit of the Frenchman.

In two hours we were less than two cannon shots from

the enemy, but our Spanish ship did not appear. The French had now come up with the ship ahead, which we supposed to be a Portuguese he had captured, but which turned out to be another French ship, and a large one. All being united, they bore down upon us, with the launch between the two ships. They tried to get to windward, but our ship sailed best and kept the weather gage of them while nearing them, but delaying a little to allow time for the Spanish ship, which was late in sailing, to come up. The Frenchman sent his launch to within a little more than a cannon shot of our ship, and then she stood back to her consorts. We believed that this was done to reconnoitre. Suspecting this, and seeing that the Spanish ship was coming near, we ran down on the Frenchmen. When the launch spoke them they turned, and all three fled before the wind. We went in chase, and if night had not come on soon after, we believed that we should have overhauled them, because one of them did not sail well. But the night was very dark, and we hove to, waiting for the other ship, our consort. Thus we did not pursue the chase, and the pirates were enabled to get far away. We, however, continued to follow them, although they succeeded in deluding us as to their route. Suspecting what they had done, we also altered course, but we did not see them during the night. In the morning they were in sight, though at some distance, off the island of Fuego to the westward. But our consort, the Spanish ship, was out of sight. Fearing that some disaster might have happened, or that she might have fallen in with some other piratical ship, and suspecting, from what we had seen, that the pirates were eager to take a prize, for it was well known that they were looking out for them, we turned to search for our consort, for it was no longer of any avail to follow the French ships when they were at such a distance. The weather was bad, the wind contrary, the Portuguese numerous and without provisions

so that they had to be supplied from the ship's stores while on board. In fine, we went in search of the Spanish ship, and, when in sight of the port, we discovered her coming from the east, by which we knew that she had been carried to the S.E. in the dark. The belief was that she had done this to avoid coming to close quarters, and having to fight. We went into port, and the Portuguese disembarked. But the Governor ordered that the other ship should not come into port that night, owing to what she had done, and she stood off and on.

Next morning the French ships appeared off the port again to the south, and very near it. At this the Governor and all the people were much afflicted, fearing that if the pirate saw the Spanish ship outside alone she would come down upon her and capture her, just as she had taken another prize outside the port. The Governor, therefore, sent to Pedro Sarmiento to request that he would order the Spanish ship to come into port and anchor. Sarmiento sent the small vessel with this order. As the Governor, who was ill in bed, knew that the Frenchmen were approaching, fearful of the harm and damage that might ensue, he wrote the following letter to Pedro Sarmiento, in Portuguese :—

"Illustrious Lord,—How much it touches the Spanish reputation that this thief should be pursued and taken, your Lordship understands better than any one, and that your reputation and mine are at stake. I am thus frank because these things affect my honor ; but I feel secure under the protection of your Lordship, and of Francisco d'Andrada, his soldiers and companions. For the love of our Lord, on whom we fix our hope. Apart from the insult, I fear great injury from this thief, as many laden ships will be coming from Guinea, and others from India, I, therefore, beseech your Lordship's aid for the service of his Majesty. Whatever you require on shore, I have ordered to be supplied to you according to your Lordship's orders ; and another ship. May our Lord guard the illustrious person of your Lordship and increase your estate. Under my hand, your servant,

"Gaspar de Andrada."

I thought it well to insert this letter, because it shows to what straits they were reduced in that city, and how little the Governor could do, if this ship and these vassals of your Majesty had not given assistance, with the aid of God our Lord. Seeing this, and also that it behoved me to make the route clear for our passage, Sarmiento consoled the Governor and the town, and hurried his preparations to go out. Taking the Portuguese that were ready, and with two more large pieces, fire bombs, and good gunners, we slipped the cables and went to sea, where we met the Spanish ship coming into port in obedience to the order that had been sent to her. She was ordered to turn and follow in the wake of the *Capitana*. We then set out in search of the thieves, who presently took to flight. We pursued them until dark, when we lost sight of them. We then stationed ourselves in the passage of the island of Mayo, which is their meeting-place, to come down upon them if they should pass. All night we had no sleep, all stood to their arms until morning, but the thieves did not appear. We waited until daylight, and searched for them from point to point of the island, towards Fuego. Seeing that they had fled, we returned to the port of Santiago. With all this, the only courtesy shown to us by the people was to sell us what we wanted at double its value ; and they even talked about impeding the departure of the small vessel, with the news, to Nombre de Dios, and they fraudulently took from us some things that we had sold to them. But I concealed my feelings, for it was not a time for anything else, nor was it desirable that they should suppose us to be as selfish as they were themselves.

This island of Santiago is 18 leagues long, and 8 wide at the widest part, which is to the south. On this side it has two settlements. This city of Santiago de la Ribera, which was founded 110 years ago, has a bad situation and a worse port ; but the place was selected on

account of the supply of water. It contains a few more than 450 houses of stone, the best being that of the Bishop, who is named Bartolomé Leyton. There are three forts commanding the anchorage, each with ten good bronze pieces of artillery, and good gunners. They told us that there were 20,000 negroes in the island, and a considerable trade with them. The custom house officers said that the customs were worth more than 100,000 ducats to the King annually. The other settlement is called "Playa", at a distance of four leagues. The island does not produce wheat, but they raise cattle and sheep. There is little water in the higher parts, except in the ravines, where there are some sugar mills; and maize cultivation, which they call "millo", besides fruits. Besides this island, there are nine others near it without any settlements, but cotton, maize, and fruit plantations. The names of the islands are Fuego, Brava, Mayo, Sal, San Antonio, Santa Cruz, Santa Lucia, San Nicholas, and Buena Vista, all within a space of 60 leagues.

Being ready, we left this port on Sunday, the 19th of June, in the afternoon, with our small vessel in company, besides two caravels on their way to Portugal. On this same day justice was done on the Ensign, who was strangled as a traitor to the royal crown of your Majesty, and as a seditious man who dishonoured the royal banner, and because he sought to impede this discovery which, by order of your Majesty, and in your Royal service, was made and undertaken. In like manner two men were discharged and put on shore this day. One was a native of the Indies of your Majesty, who was landed as a mutineer, and he did not receive a more severe punishment because the evidence against him was insufficient. The other was the purser, from whom Pedro Sarmiento had taken the charge of the provisions, because he had wasted them, and he had been punished and deprived of his pay. He was

now discharged from the fleet, and left on the island of Santiago of Cape Verde, as well for this offence, as because he stirred the people to discontent and mutiny.

In leaving this port we went west as far as the channel between the islands of Fuego and Santiago. Here one of the Portuguese vessels parted company at night. Thence we steered about N.W. to clear the island of San Antonio. Through this channel we went under very easy sail to keep company with the caravel, which made much water, and to be ready to help her both in this respect and in case of meeting with pirates. Sailing in this way, Pedro Sarmiento proceeded to despatch the small vessel, which was named *Nuestra Señora de la Concepcion.* On Tuesday, the 23rd of June, at 9 in the forenoon, he despatched her, under the command of Hernando Alonso, Pilot of this *Capitana*, and Serjeant-Major, with seven or eight men,[1] in charge of the despatches which the Viceroy ordered to be sent to him in his Instructions: that is to say, the narrative of the voyage of discovery signed by all those on board who knew how to write, and attested by the Royal Notary of this ship; also reports respecting what was known of the proceedings of the English, that a better look-out might be kept for them in Peru and Chile than had hitherto been the case. These despatches were addressed to the Viceroy and the

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[1] These are the men not in the list made at the end of the voyage :—

The Gunner . . .	Baltasar Rodriguez.
Soldiers	Alvaro de Torres.
	Pedro Martin.
	Christoval de Bonilla.
	Francisco de Mazuelas.
Sailors	Juan Antonio Corzo.
	Sancho de Larréa.
	Luis Gonzalez.
	Gaspar Gomez.

They may be assumed to have formed the crew of the *Concepcion.*

Auditors of the Royal Audience. So the little vessel shaped her course to the west,[1] while we steered N.W., being now clear of the pirates. Pedro Sarmiento had kept the little vessel in company during these days on account of them. This day Sarmiento took the altitude in 18°, the Chief Pilot getting the same result. We had made good 60 leagues.

From Thursday, at noon, with a N.E. wind, we steered N.W. until Friday at noon, and that night the foresail was split right down. We continued to steer N.W. until Sunday, the 3rd of July, when we were in 31° 38′ N. It then fell calm, afterwards the wind sprung up, and on Thursday, the 7th, we were in 35° 10′ N.

On Tuesday, the 12th of July, we saw the island of Corvo, passing it on the north side. It is in 40° N. We then steered S.E., and on Thursday sighted the island of Graciosa, a small island, but fertile and well peopled. We passed the night between it and the island of St. George. We saw much fire on the latter island, and, from the information we received afterwards at the island of Terceira, the reason was as follows :—

On the 1st of June of this year 1580, the following testimony was given by the Auditor Freibes, in the town of Velas, in the island of St. George, touching this fire. On the above day, on the said island, there was a great earthquake, and in the afternoon three mouths of fire broke out, from which streams of fire flowed down into the sea. This continued until seven mouths had opened, and one of the streams of fire flowed round a hermitage of our Lady. Nine men went to take away some bee-hives at a distance of a cross bow shot from the principal mouth. When they

[1] Alonso fulfilled his mission, and delivered the despatches into the hands of the Viceroy of Peru. Acosta conversed with Alonso, and saw the account of the Strait.—See the Hakluyt Society's edition of *Acosta*, i, p. 143.

got there another mouth opened and burnt them, so that only two were left half-burnt. It rained cinders, so that the whole land was raised a hand's breadth. The testimony adds :—

"I certify that what is said of this fire in St. George is true.

"FRANCISCO DE FREITE, *Auditor*."

Touching this, they say that the voices of devils and other frightful things were distinctly heard, and finally the island covered them, according to what they say.

Continuing our route, on the 18th of July, we arrived at the city of Angla, in the island of Terceira, which is the principal island of the Azores. Glory to Almighty God!

On Monday, the 19th of July, a ship arrived at this port from the town of Pernambuco in Brazil, and on Tuesday another from the Bahia de Todos Santos, the seat of government in Brazil. When Pedro Sarmiento enquired whether there were any English in those parts he received the following information :—

In November 1579, five white men, with fifteen Indians, departed from the settlement of Tiñares, fifteen leagues from Bahia, to go to Isleos, another Portuguese settlement, by land. Walking along the beach, they came suddenly upon a launch containing ten Englishmen at the "Rio de las Cuentas". Seven of them were repairing their sails on shore. On seeing the English the travellers ran away, and the English followed them. But understanding who they were, the Portuguese turned, and shot down five with arrows, and came to the launch. They captured two Englishmen who took refuge in the bush. Those in the launch cut the hawsers and left two large bombards. The travellers said that they did not wish to fight, and that if the English would come on shore they should be supplied with provisions, and with what they needed. They answered that they did not wish to do so,

and made a show of arquebuses, cross-bows and pikes. At this time the tide suited, and they crossed the bar and departed. Thence they went to another river, which is six leagues from the Rio de las Cuentas, towards Bahia. On an island in front of Camamu, called "Chiepe", another Portuguese caravel came upon the English launch by chance, not knowing it was there. It put to sea with three Englishmen, for the rest were found on the island, dead of the arrow wounds received at Las Cuentas. Three or four leagues further on a Portuguese boat, going from Isleos to Bahia, came upon the surviving three Englishmen on the beach, very sick and miserable, and the launch was lost, the end of her being unknown. The five English prisoners from this launch, on being interrogated, said:—

That they belonged to an English fleet of ten ships, which was fitted out in England by a great Lord, and that in it they went to the Strait of Magellan and then they returned and cruised along the coast to settle in a port which seemed to offer the greatest advantages.[1] With this end, their *Capitana*, which they said was of 900 tons, carried, in addition to the ship's company, 500 men at arms, 400 soldiers, and 100 officers trained to all the mechanical arts. They were well satisfied, because the wages were paid every month. This fleet anchored off an island of the land of Carijos, which we call "Caribes", where a great storm arose. The fleet put to sea, and the *Capitana*, not being able to get under weigh as quickly as was necessary, was driven on shore, and all were lost except the said men in

[1] No expeditions appear to have sailed from England for the Straits of Magellan between the return of Drake in 1580, and the departure of Cavendish in 1586. Fenton was on the Brazilian coast in 1583, but the above particulars do not apply to any occurrence during his expedition, besides an earlier date is referred to. It is, therefore, difficult to conjecture what this English expedition can have been, which is mentioned in the text.

the launch, for they were on shore, getting water. After the loss of the ship *Capitana*, the launch coasted along to Puerto Seguro, where they were also chased, but, being a better sailer, she escaped from the boats which followed her, and she went on, to come to an end near Bahia, as has been said.

One of the five Englishmen who escaped was a young man of thirty years, very clever and a great mathematician. He stated, in the prison, that those who weathered the storm were to return to the ports of Brazil with a large fleet, and, among other particulars, he stated as the truth that, at a place called "Cananéa" (which is a small island), there was a *padron* or mark with the arms of your Majesty, and the commander of the English ordered it to be removed, and another to be set up with the arms of England, as a sign of possession of those lands which extend to Paraguay. These arms may have been set up by Cabeza de Vaca,[1] or by the Adelantado Juan Ortiz de Zarate,[2] now six years ago, in Santa Catalina, near Cananéa, when your Majesty sent him out as Governor of Paraguay and Rio de la Plata. It is not stated whether they were removed, still it was suspected to be true that the arms of your Majesty were taken down, and replaced by those of England.

Besides this, the Captain of the Portuguese settlement of Rio de Janeiro sent three Englishmen to Bahia whom he had captured at Cape Frio, belonging to the nine ships which escaped the storm. Three of the ships together

[1] Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca, after his return from Florida, received command of an expedition to the Rio de la Plata in 1540. He arrived at Cananéa, on the coast of the province of San Paulo in Brazil, in March 1541. Thence he went to the island of Santa Catalina, and disembarked his troops.

[2] Juan Ortiz de Zarate went out as Governor of Buenos Ayres in 1565 until 1581.

were found at Cape Frio which had come to the Cape in search of the other six, which they expected to find there, having been separated by the storm. The Captain of Rio de Janeiro received notice of the arrival of these three ships, and sent four canoes with people to find out about them. They came suddenly on an English launch at an island. On seeing the canoes the Englishmen retreated. They could not do so with sufficient celerity so that all should escape, and thus these three Englishmen were captured. On seeing the canoes and people coming by land, the ships made sail. From these three Englishmen, who were taken, it was known that the three ships went to seek for Cape Frio because they thought the other six missing ships would be there, and not finding them they were to go in search to Paraiba of Pernambuco. They did not arrive, for in Bahia they had certain intelligence, on the 15th of May, that no French or English ships had been at Paraiba. The account given by these three Englishmen, brought from Rio de Janeiro to Bahia, agreed with that of the other five belonging to the launch that was lost in Tiñare.

The arrival of the Englishmen in Brazil was in last November 1579, which was the time when Pedro Sarmiento and his companions arrived at the archipelagos in search of the Strait. The time, as regards one expedition and the other, agrees well with what the natives told us in the Strait. He who gave me this intelligence respecting Brazil is one of the principal people there, and at the end of his discourse he said the following words, which I put here, as something may be made of them in the time to come :—

"The Governors of these times give false justice in Brazil, and are occupied in their own special and tyrannical interests these three years, and show no respect for what is of so much importance to their King and also to the majesty of King Philip, which

is to enquire, find out, and report, with ardent loyalty and diligence, this important intelligence."

As my present endeavour was to enquire touching these proceedings in all parts and from all people, I learnt in this city of Angla, from the mouth of the Corregidor, and generally from common rumour, that on the 2nd of November 1579, a large English ship came on the coast, and was lost near a village called "Gualúa", two leagues from the city of Angla on the island of Terceira, which ship had seven or eight men on board when she was lost. Two and a negro escaped. The negro is now a prisoner in this city, the others were put to death. They raised from the bottom of the sea five very large pieces of artillery of iron, which the ship carried, but they had not been able to get the rest. Those they obtained were of such size as to be suitable for a fort on shore, for it was known that they went to form a settlement in the Indies, and they had 300 soldiers on board. It is said that they carried treasure, which was thrown overboard when they saw they must be lost, that it might not be suspected that they were pirates. The prisoners said they had been on the coast of Guinea a long time with other ships, and that all the people had died of sickness, except those who were on board when she was lost. The general suspicion, which I believe to be probable from what is known, is that this ship is one of those which escaped from the storm already mentioned, and those who give most credit to this belief are the Portuguese from Brazil, who gave me the above information, for they say that they went in search of the nine or ten ships which were fitted out by a great Lord of England.

In this port of Angla there were two small English vessels, and speaking with the master of one of them, who is Hispanicized, and is married in the island, about Francisco Draquez, the pirate, Pedro Sarmiento was told that the master left Bristol three months before, and that he had

no news of Francisco having departed thence. I asked him concerning what had previously been said by the Englishmen at Ayamonte, and he said that it was true, and that where he had been there was the news that certain armed ships were being fitted out at Plymouth or London, but he did not know their destination. This is a corroboration of what the pilot told me. While I was in this port, the Bishop of these islands gave me his testimony respecting a miracle, which is as follows :—

A caravel was sailing from the island of San Miguel to that of San Jorge, on the 15th of June 1580, being ten leagues from the latter island, about half-an-hour before sunset, when the men on board saw, on the face of the sun, a large crucifix, and at the foot of the crucifix there appeared a *calvario*, as it is usually painted ; and they saw two figures, one on the right side and one on the left ; that on the right-hand dressed in white and that on the left dressed, as it seemed, half red and half black. And the crucifix was rising up and continued to be visible until the sun set. All who saw it were much terrified, bewailing their sins, and thinking that the end of the world had come. This was taken down by the Auditor Freites, of San Jorge, from all who were on board the caravel, and sent to the Bishop, and this was the substance of it. *Laus Deo omnipotenti qui mirabilia fecit in cælo et in terra !*

When we were in this port there arrived five large ships from India, four from Goa and Cochin, and one from Malacca ; the four were laden with spices, drugs, porcelain, and the clothing of the land, and the other came without any cargo, not having been able to get one. The *Capitana* was said to be of 1,200 tons and the other of 1,300 tons. They said that this one carried 8,000 quintals of spices. Asking for news touching the Spaniards of the Philippines, they said that in the previous year a brother of the King of Burnéo, or Burney, which is a great and rich

island, came to Manilla and treated with the Spaniards who were there for your Majesty, that they should go to Burnéo and drive out the King, his brother, and put him in his brother's place, and that he would be tributary to your Majesty. The Spaniards went, with a great force, to Burnéo and took the kingdom. The King fled to the mountains, and the Spaniards set up his brother in his place, whom they brought with them. They found much wealth, and particularly more than 600 pieces of artillery, and with that they returned to Manilla in the Luzones. After some months a Portuguese captain, who came from Moluco, passed by Burnéo, and hearing what had happened, and that the first King was wandering in the mountains, he went there and restored him once more, putting to flight the one whom the Spaniards had set up as King. I relate this just as it was told to me, but it is to be believed that the vassals of your Majesty who are in those islands, if they did this, must have acted in a political and justifiable way, as your Majesty orders and desires. Your Majesty will have better intelligence of these proceedings by way of New Spain. Yet I relate what comes to my knowledge, for Princes should be faithfully informed of all that happens, so that if any measure may be necessary, it may be provided for in furtherance of their service.

On Wednesday morning a small caravel, with the banner of Portugal on the poop, arrived at this port and city of Angla, bearing a letter from Don Antonio to the Corregidor, in which, although I did not see it, it was declared and ordered that the Corregidor should proclaim him as King,[1] and that any one who contradicted was to be killed.

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[1] On the death of King Henry (the Cardinal) of Portugal, Philip II was his nephew and next heir. The only other competitor was Antonio, Prior of Crato, another nephew, but not legitimate. Antonio was defeated by the Duke of Alva at Oporto, and fled. Philip then

At this time Pedro Sarmiento and the Vicar, Friar Antonio Guadramiro, were with the Corregidor, persuading him to be in obedience to the Church, for the Bishop held Don Antonio to be excommunicated. But the Corregidor persisted in humiliating himself, and maintained that he was not excommunicated, and, by a word inadvertently spoken as to the coming of the caravel, by a notary, it appeared that things against us might be considered. Dissimulating as much as possible, I concluded the interview, and embarked with all the people who were then on shore. News then came by a caravel that the Governors had pronounced for your Majesty, that the camp of your Majesty was then near Setubal, and that the coast from Cape St. Vincent to the mouth of the Tagus was for your Majesty; while only Lisbon, Santarem, and Setubal had declared for Don Antonio. Some, in this place, showed a desire for your Majesty, and others were on the opposite side, as is the manner of the vulgar herd. But the nobles and gentlemen, in our presence, with great willingness declared themselves for your Majesty.

The people, however, began to show hostility, and we were presently surrounded by boats. The ships from India were told to defend the entrance to the port, and to fire upon us if we attempted to depart. It was publicly said that we should be attacked and killed, for your Majesty had entered Portugal with your camp. They wanted to take our papers and the narrative of the voyage, declaring that the Strait fell within the demarcation of Portugal, and that this discovery would be most injurious to Portugal: so they would keep no more terms with us, but would take us and kill us. We, therefore, lived like those who momentarily

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became undisputed sovereign of Portugal. The Azores were in favour of Don Antonio, and he was proclaimed King at Terceira, but all resistance soon ceased.

expect to be executed through the blind fury of the mob, but with our weapons in our hands, and our matches lighted at all hours.

Although the majority in the city and on board the ships said all this, no one dared to be the first. As those in this ship of your Majesty had acted well to all in that city, there were some who befriended us, and apprised us of what passed. Especially a gentleman, named Juan de Betancor, warned Pedro Sarmiento that the Pilots of the ships from India were jealous and indignant at his discovery, and talked of sinking our ship, and getting our journals into their hands to take advantage of them, for that they should not reach the presence of your Majesty. Then Pedro Sarmiento treated with certain Spanish sailors who were on board the ships from India, that they should keep him informed of what was done. Thus he had news from the ships every now and then under colour of going to see the savages; and although each told a different story, I understood that the commander of the ships was lukewarm, not declaring himself on either side, but only working to furnish his ships with more men and artillery. They said that he would take the guns of the English ship that was lost, because, in the letter of Don Antonio, he was ordered to do so, and to work to windward, as he would find ships on the coast and would be able to enter Lisbon securely.

Finally they rose for Don Antonio. For this the Corregidor was excommunicated as a participant. The officials of the Chamber went to him and required absolution for this act, protesting that in doing it they should be absolved. Assembled in session, the Corregidor submitted the substance of the letter, and some were perplexed. The Corregidor and a few others were much frightened, saying that it was treason and rebellion to name him as King, or in my opinion as Tyrant: so said some Portuguese, and women offered vows and masses that your Majesty might reign,

Finally they raised a banner and proclaimed Don Antonio through the streets. The commander of the fleet from India was not present at this business, remaining on board his ship. His name is Saldanha, and he is the son of a Spaniard. Having done this, the Portuguese on shore treated us very shamefully, even threatening to sink our ship. Juan de Betancor came at night to warn Sarmiento of this, coming in a boat in rear of all the ships and with muffled oars. We were all night with lighted matches, in consequence, being determined to die for God and your Majesty. As I said before, no one dared to be first, as usually happens on such occasions; and also there were some reasonable men who kept back the others.

While this was going on, a fleet of twenty-two ships arrived from New Spain. The night before its arrival, when it was reported from the look out, all in the city were under arms, believing it to be a fleet sent by your Majesty to take the island. They detained our boat on shore, which had gone for water, and also detained a shallop from the fleet which had been sent for provisions. Some of our people swam off to the ship and reported what had happened. At dawn several shallops came in from the fleet to buy fresh provisions, and Pedro Sarmiento kept them at the ship, warning them of what was going on. He sent on shore a Portuguese of our company to get news, and he found that when the people ascertained that it was only a fleet from the Indies they quieted down, so the boats went on shore. These people sell their fruits, and harvests, and wood to the ships of your Majesty that come here, having gold and silver, and they are solely sustained by this traffic.

We weighed and made sail to join the fleet, and Pedro Sarmiento went on board the *Capitana* from New Spain, to inform the General of what had happened in the town of Angla and in Spain; and of the service that he could do

your Majesty, in taking the ships of India, or some of them, especially that which was richly laden with spices, gold and precious stones. He contented himself by saying that he had no commission to do so. Pedro Sarmiento replied that the caravel that had come from Portugal was to depart that same night with news of what had happened, and that a Portuguese fleet would then come to convoy the ships from India, by which means Don Antonio and his followers would be succoured with money and men. But if we should stop the caravel and allow no notice to reach the tyrant, your Majesty would have the first news, and would take such steps as would be best for your service. The General and all the officers agreed to this, and it was settled that it should be done.

With this determination, and without more delay, we made sail for the island of San Miguel. On Monday, being now in sight of San Miguel, the *Capitana* of New Spain hoisted a flag on the mast, and we all went on board her to see what counsel would be taken. It was only to say that we should return to Terceira to take in water. Although many ships represented that they had enough water on board, the Pilot Major insisted that they should go there, saying that if they were delayed thirty or forty days it would not signify. What absurdity! Pedro Sarmiento, talking with Don Bartolomè de Villavicencio, said that he did not wish to anchor, because this was not a time for running into ports. He wished to go and give information to his Majesty and to serve him, and to report what so nearly concerned his honour and his crown. The Chief Pilot of Spain answered to this that no ship would anchor. The Chief Pilot of this ship *Capitana* of his Majesty made all sail and went out of the fleet, with a strong feeling of annoyance on the part of General Sarmiento at seeing the want of energy in these proceedings: that for the sake of getting four raddishes and two pounds of grapes, they should

neglect what was of so much importance. Sailing towards Terceira, they saw the despatch boat or caravel come out. Pedro Sarmiento was watching to see what the General of New Spain would do to carry out the preconcerted arrangement. When he saw that nothing was done, Pedro Sarmiento ordered chase to be made, but by this time the caravel was distant. Finally, this *Capitana* alone made chase very late. Seeing that she was pursued, the caravel ran in shore, and the *Capitana* followed her close in, near the settlement of La Playa, when night came on. This prevented us from taking her. If Don Bartolomé would only have sent one of the shallops he had in the fleet, she would undoubtedly have been captured, for the shallop could have gone in shore nearer than the caravel; which this ship could not have done without danger of being lost. By not taking her we lost two days of advantage, when even an hour may be of consequence on such occasions; while by going back we lost the time until Wednesday, the 3rd of August, with the going and coming, and with the calms which occur among these islands. When the fleet returned to port, the ships from India had already sailed, except the one from Malacca, which was hauled in, under the guns of the fortress. In returning, the fleet passed another despatch boat bound for Portugal, with her flag flying, yet the General allowed her to pass without even asking the cause of her diligence; so that he had let two caravels with news proceed to Lisbon. On Wednesday, the 3rd of August, the fleet made sail for Spain, and on Monday, the 15th, by the mercy of God, we sighted the coast six leagues to the north of Cape St. Vincent. LAUS DEO.

All this was read publicly before all on board this ship *Capitana*, whose names were as follows:—

The Father Vicar .	Friar Antonio Guadramiro.[1]
The Chief Pilot . .	Anton Pablos.[1]
The Royal Notary .	Juan de Esquivel.[1]
The Boatswain . .	Pedro de Hojeda.[1]
Master-at-Arms .	Gaspar Antonio.[1]
Master Carpenter .	Agustin.[1]
Soldiers . . .	Pedro de Aranda.[1]
	Geronimo de Arroyo.[1]
	Francisco Garces de Espinosa.
	Andres de Orduña.[1]
	Antonio del Castillo.[1]
The Caulker . .	Pedro Lopez.
Sailors . . .	Francisco Hernandez.
	Angel Bartolo.
	Domingo Vayaneta.
	Pedro Pablo.
	Jacome Ricardo (Ricalde?).[1]
	Diego Perez de Albor.[1]
	Diego Perez de Villanueva.
	Pedro Alvarez.
	Francisco Perez.[1]
	Francisco de Urbéa.[1]
	Simon de Abréo.
	Pedro de Villalustre.
	Manuel Perez.
	Matéo Andres.
	Pedro Marquez.
	Pedro Gonzalez.
Soldiers . . .	Pedro de Bahamonde.[1]
	Francisco Tellez.[1]
	Pedro de Isasiga.
	Gabriel de Solis.[1]
	Pedro de la Rosa.

All those, above written, were asked if the contents of this narrative were true, or whether there was anything to be contradicted, and all replied that the contents were true, without their knowing anything that could or ought to be

[1] Signed,

contradicted. This was true, and those who knew how to sign, have signed it with their names. Also I, Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa, Captain-Superior of this ship and fleet of his Majesty, swear to God, on this cross ✠ and on the Holy Evangelists, that all that is contained in this narrative and route is true, that things passed in effect as here stated, without anything in excess of the truth. To certify to the truth, and that all parts may receive faith and credit, I signed my name, and dated it on board this ship *Capitana*, named the *Nuestra Señora de Esperanza*, on Wednesday, the 17th day of August, 1580.

"Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa.
Anton Pablos (*Pilot*).
Friar Antonio Guadramiro (*Chaplain*).
Pedro de Hojeda (*Boatswain*).
Gaspar Antonio (*Master-at-Arms*).
Francisco Garces de Espinosa.
Pedro de Aranda.
Geronimo Garzes del Arroyo.
Francisco de Gorvea.
Antonio del Castillo.
Francisco Perez.
Diego Perez.
Francisco Hernandez.
Augustin Gabriel de Solis.
Jacome Ricaldo.
Francisco Tellez.
Pedro de Bahamonde.
Andres de Orduña (*Acting Notary*).

"and I, Juan de Esquivel, Royal Notary of this fleet and ship *Capitana* of His Majesty, bear faith and truthful testimony that I was present in all this voyage of discovery of the Strait of Madre de Dios, formerly called of Magellan; and I saw it, and on those occasions when I was not present I know it from certain information of persons who were, and by the solemn oath of the Lord Pedro Sarmiento, Captain-Superior of this fleet, who went on the three boat exploring expeditions. I was present when the narrative was read, word for word, publicly before all the people of

this said ship, according as the very excellent Lord Don Francisco de Toledo, Viceroy of Peru, ordered in his Instructions. It having been read and understood, all the above-named witnesses declared to be true all that is contained in this narrative, and that they could not contradict anything, and that as such they gave it and approved it, that his Majesty may be informed by it of all that happened in this voyage of discovery. I know all the witnesses above named, and saw them sign their names, those in the ship who know how to sign ; and I saw that this narrative was written on eighty-five leaves, counting this on which I sign my name. Of all which I give my faith: dated in this ship *Capitana*, named *Nuestra Señora de Buena Esperanza*, the 17th of August, 1580, and in testimony of its truth I give my sign manual,

"Juan de Esquivel, *Royal Notary.*

"And I, Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa, Captain-Superior of the royal fleet of his Majesty, that went for the discovery of the Strait of Magellan, declare to all those who may see these presents, that Juan de Esquivel, who has signed this narrative and route, is the Royal Notary of this said ship *Capitana*, and that entire credit is to be given to the writings and acts that pass or have passed before him, as such Royal Notary of this said fleet and ship *Capitana*. And that this may be valid, I have given this certificate, signed with my name and dated upon this ship *Capitana*, on the 17th day of the month of August, 1580.

"Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa."

APPENDIX A.

Letter from the Viceroy of Peru, Don Francisco de Toledo, to the Governor of Rio de la Plata.[1]

(*Referred to in Article XI of the Instructions. See page* 13.)

A ship of English pirates passed by the Strait of Magellan into the South Sea, and arrived in the port of Santiago, of the Province of Chile, on the 4th of December of the past year 1578, robbed a ship of a quantity of gold that was in that port, and did other harm in other ports of this coast. On the 13th of February she arrived at the port of this city, being quite off its guard respecting any such strange occurrence. For having been so long in giving me notice from those provinces of Chile, nothing was done. The Governor was engaged in the war in Aranco, and neither the officers nor the municipality cared to buy a vessel and bring me the news; whereby many losses and expenses might have been avoided which have fallen on his Majesty and on private persons, especially as regards a ship from which a large quantity of silver was stolen, going from this city to Tierra Firme. Much diligence was used to take this pirate, and two ships were sent in search of him. But as the sea is so wide, and he had run with all speed, it was not possible to catch him.

The thing that is most felt is that he will bring back intelligence of everything here, and that there is now facility for them to enter any day, by that door of the Strait, which has now been examined and made known to them.

In the year 1577 English pirates crossed from the North to the South Sea, by the forests of Tierra Firme, with the aid of the fugitive negroes who inhabit those parts. But the captain and troops that I sent from here captured them all, so that of those who had been in the forests not one remained, so that others might not be able to undertake to do the like. Notwithstanding, his Majesty, in his great zeal for Christianity, has fortified and

[1] Taken from the original minute among the manuscripts of Don Eugenio de Alvarado.

garrisoned the passage with galleys in the sea, and settlements of soldiers by land, so that the passage that way is well defended.

With regard to this part of the Strait it is necessary to provide a prompt remedy, and this, in a matter which is not known nor understood, will be difficult. We have decided to send two strong ships, well victualled, with good pilots and sailors, to make this discovery in this part of the South Sea. They are to examine and look out for the place where, with greatest convenience, some settlement or fortress may be established, with artillery. They are to occupy the entrance before any pirate can do so; and they are to find out whether in any part of the South Sea, or in the Strait itself, or outside in the North Sea, there is any settlement of the English, and in what part, and in what number, that such order may be taken as will be most conducive to his Majesty's service. Of these two ships, one is to return with the report of all that has been seen and has happened, after they have come out into the North Sea, and seen the entrances of the Strait, for it will be fruitless to provide a remedy for one, if the enemy can enter by the others. As it is possible that, by reason of the winter, this arrangement may not be practicable, and it may be necessary to winter somewhere, it is ordered that this is to be done either in the mouth of the Rio de la Plata, or in some port on the coast which is well sheltered.

In whatever district in the Government of Paraguay they may be, his Majesty will be well served, and I shall be particularly obliged for what may be done for the captain and soldiers, and for the good accommodation and treatment of their persons, and for what may be given for the necessary repair of materials they brought with them, that may be worn out. If the other ship should touch, which is to proceed to Spain, what is proper for it should be done. For if the captain and soldiers are not given all possible assistance, that they may secure the object for which they were sent, the expenses incurred by his Majesty will be fruitless.

The despatches which the captain or captains of the said ships may give into your charge for me or for this Royal Audience, are to be sent to me by way of Tucuman with all the speed possible, with a proper and trustworthy person, who will be ordered to expect the reward for his labours here, and you are to advise his Majesty of your proceedings in this matter. With the messenger

you will give me information of what you know respecting the ship or ships of the English, and whether they touched at any of the ports of those coasts, and how many; also whether this ship, or others, have gone to Spain and when; and whether you have news that the English have made any settlement on shore and where, and what number of people, and at what time they were in this part.

RELATION

Of what happened to the royal fleet for the Strait of Magellan.

Written at Rio de Janeiro on June 1st 1583, by

Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa.

(From the *Colleccion de MSS. de Juan B. Muñoz.*)

Peru was at peace when, for our sins, some English pirates pressed through the Strait of the Mother of God, formerly called the Strait of Magellan, into the South Sea, under the command of Francis Drake,[1] a native of Plymouth,[2] a man of low condition, but a skilful seaman and a valiant pirate. With only one ship, named the *Golden Eagle*,[3] he sailed along the coasts of Chile, Peru, Nicaragua, Guatemala, and New Spain, where he committed great robberies. Don Francisco de Toledo, the Viceroy of Peru, adopted all the measures that were possible against him, the Viceroy of New Spain, Don Martin Enriquez, and the Judges of Guatemala and Panama doing the same; but he was so fortunate that he escaped out of the hands of all. The Viceroy of Peru, foreseeing the danger that was imminent, took steps to avert it. He equipped two ships and sent Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa, as General, to seek for the English, but chiefly to explore the Strait and find a position where it could be conveniently fortified, and where settlements could be formed; so that the passage might remain closed and guarded against the enemies of your

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[1] *Francisco Drac.*

[2] *Plemua.*

[3] This should be the *Golden Hind.*

Majesty and of our holy Catholic Faith. By this precaution and labour your Majesty's service would be advanced, and those kingdoms would be guarded and secured, so that the enemies of our Holy Catholic Faith might not occupy them, as they might have hoped after having been successful in passing on one previous occasion.

Pedro Sarmiento left Lima with his companions on the 11th of October 1579, and, in spite of great difficulties and of being deserted by one of the two ships from fear of the tempests, he entered the Strait in the ship *Esperanza*, which Strait he called "the Mother of God", because he had taken her as his guardian. This was on the 22nd of January 1580, and he came out into the North Sea on the 24th February, having explored, sounded, and surveyed, and described all the archipelagos and the Strait with the necessary care. Having performed this service, he went on to Spain, in compliance with the orders of the Viceroy of Peru, to report to your Majesty, and through the mediation of our Lord Jesus Christ, he arrived in Spain on the 19th of August 1580. He went to Badajoz, kissed the royal hand of your Majesty, and made his report, both by word of mouth and in writing, of the voyage and discovery he had made, and of the nature of that land. After he had communicated this, and other matters relating to the same business, your Majesty sent him to the Royal Council at Madrid, where he also reported to the Councillors of the Council of the Indies. After your Majesty had been well informed, it was determined that the Strait should be fortified, and that Pedro Sarmiento should be Governor and Captain-General of the Strait, and that settlements should be formed in it. With this object Pedro Sarmiento offered to take out settlers at his own expense, and your Majesty accepted the offer, and consented that a hundred married and single colonists should be licensed to go out—the married men with their wives and children—and honourable

and profitable graces and privileges were conceded to them.

Diego Flores de Valdes, an Asturian Knight of the Order of Santiago, was appointed General of the fleet, which was ordered to be large, well supplied with men, arms, and stores, and provided for all contingencies, as it might be that enemies might be found in the Strait. Diego Flores had orders that, with the men he took with him, he should found and build two forts facing each other in the narrowest part of the Strait, and should garrison them with 400 soldiers receiving pay, 200 soldiers in each fort; and that he should not depart until all had been properly completed. To all concerned, your Majesty granted many favours, promising more when the work was done. Diego de la Ribera was appointed Admiral, Estevan de las Alas was to be General Purveyor, Andres de Onino, Accountant, and as Treasurer, Juan Nuñez de Illescas, although this officer did not go, but sent out Pedro de Esquivel as his substitute, to receive half the pay. The Chief Pilot was Anton Pablos, also called Anton Paulo de Corso, who had come with Pedro Sarmiento in this voyage of discovery through the Strait. The names of the Captains will be seen in the return which follows this report.

Your Majesty ordered, at the same time, that Don Alonso de Sotomayor, a Knight of the habit of Santiago, who had been appointed Governor of Chile, should go out with this Fleet, by way of the Strait, to Chile, for several reasons, and he was to take out with him 600 married and single men.

Diego Flores had orders to proceed to Seville and procure the necessary vessels. He was to take seven of your Majesty's ships, the galleass *San Cristoval*, four frigates, named the *Santa Isabel*, the *Santa Catalina*, the *Guadalupe*, the *Madalena*, and also the *Nuestra Señora de Esperanza*, which Pedro Sarmiento had brought from Peru by way of

the Strait. The ship *Francesa*, and sixteen others, were hired from their owners, so that the fleet numbered altogether twenty-three vessels.

The general Contractor appointed for the fleet was Francisco Duarte, the President of the "Contratacion" and Judge of the Council of the Indies being then Doctor Santillan. Presently all began to work, your Majesty giving such orders for despatch as seemed desirable. Pedro Sarmiento was ordered to proceed to Portugal where, in the town of Thomar (where the Portuguese swore allegiance to your Majesty, in the service of God, as natural Lord and King of the realm of Portugal and its dependencies), your Majesty ordered him, in conjunction with the engineer, Juan Bautista Antonelli, to prepare plans and sections of the forts that should be constructed in the Strait. After your Majesty had seen them, we were ordered to proceed to Lisbon to submit them to the Duke of Alva,[1] the Marquis of Santa Cruz,[2] and don Francisco

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[1] Don Fernando Alvarez de Toledo, third Duke of Alva, succeeded his grandfather, his father having been slain in battle with the Moors on the island of Gelves (Zerbi), near Tunis, in 1510. Don Fernando the third Duke, was Captain-General, under Charles V, in the attack on Algiers. He was afterwards Viceroy of Naples. He was a great general, only too well known in the Netherlands, from 1567 to 1573, and he was well advanced in years when Philip II sent him to command at Lisbon at the time that the two crowns were united. The Duke of Alva is said by Herrera to have reported against the scheme for fortifying the Strait, as impracticable.

[2] Don Alvaro de Bazan, first Marquis of Santa Cruz, was the best naval commander during the reigns of Charles V and Philip II. His most brilliant actions were against Moorish pirates. He also did splendid service against the Turks, in the Mediterranean, while in command of the Neapolitan galleys. In 1571 he commanded the reserves at the battle of Lepanto. When Philip II succeeded to the crown of Portugal in 1580, the Marquis of Santa Cruz entered the Tagus with a fleet, and forced the ships of the pretender, Don Antonio, to surrender. He also defeated a French fleet which was sent in aid of Don Antonio, and reduced the Azores to obedience.

de Alava, which was done. Having considered them, those officers replied to your Majesty; and Pedro Sarmiento, by command of your Majesty, consulted the pilots of Brazil respecting the navigation of that coast. He then returned to Thomar, where your Majesty heard the result, gave your approval, and ordered that so it should be. Here your Majesty saw the Pilot, Anton Pablos, and granted him 500 ducats out of the rents of Seville. Your Majesty then ordered all concerned to proceed to Seville in the execution of their respective orders.

Pedro Sarmiento had instructions to prepare the charts, or at least the chart of what he had surveyed in the Strait, in communication with the President of the "Contratacion" and with the Cosmographer, using much diligence and caution. Pedro Sarmiento, therefore, proceeded to Seville and inspected the ships, when he found that many were weak and old, and not suited for such navigation He reported this to your Majesty, naming several of the ships. Your Majesty ordered that Don Diego Maldonado and Pedro Sarmiento should make another survey. This was done with carpenters, caulkers, and pilots. Your Majesty then received a second report; and your Majesty replied that there was no time to get other ships. Treating of this with Diego Flores, in presence of the President and officers of the "Contratacion", and placing before him the danger there would be for those who embarked in such ships, and almost protesting that they would be lost, he said that as I had not got to go in one of them I had no occasion to say anything. This was a nice reply from a chief who could have hired other very good, new, and strong ships which, as I understood on very good authority,

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Pedro Sarmiento found him at Lisbon, while engaged on these operations. The Marquis died in 1588, when in command of the Spanish Armada destined for England. Had he lived, its fate might have been different.

he passed over. Pedro Sarmiento looked after what your Majesty had ordered respecting the artillery, ammunition, provisions, and clothes for the soldiers and settlers; and he caused a brigantine and a launch to be constructed, which were to be taken out in pieces. They were intended for further exploration in the Strait. He also attended to all the arrangements, engaged pilots and masters with much diligence, for most of them excused themselves, and even hid to avoid service in an enterprise which, they said, was one of much hard work and little profit. This was the cry of all those who were accustomed to serve in the fleets in the Indies, that they would not move from one cape to another, neither for their fathers nor for your Majesty, if they did not go with assurance of profit, and that without risk. Among the bad characters there is a saying, when they shirk their duties or run away from dangers, that "the King neither gives life nor cures wounds".[1]

While Diego Flores proceeded with the business of appointing captains and despatching them to raise men, and procure provisions and stores necessary for the fleet, Pedro Sarmiento got settlers together in Seville, without pay, and named one Captain Alvaro Romo in Badajos, to take steps for inducing settlers to come. Your Majesty also named two captains, Domingo de Aguinaga and Juan de Saavedra. Meanwhile your Majesty worked harder and did more than all the others together, attending to all the business, and animating all by granting favours, and urging despatch, which was certainly the main thing.

In obedience to your Majesty's orders, Pedro Sarmiento began to work at the preparation of charts for the voyage, jointly with the Licentiate Rodrigo Zamorano,[2] the Cosmo-

[1] "Ni el Rey da vida ni sana heridas."

[2] Rodrigo Zamorano is mentioned in Hakluyt's preface as the examiner of pilots at Seville. He was Cosmographer to the Council

grapher, Professor of Mathematics and of Pilotage to the "Casa de Contratacion",[1] Examiner of Charts and of Pilots for the Royal Council of the Indies, who is learned in the theory of the art; and with Anton Pablos. The work was done in presence of the President, and all the ancient and modern charts and *padrones* by the various draughtsmen and cartographers were brought into his room to examine the differences of the positions of places as regards longitude, and by them to delineate the coast lines. The two positions which were considered to be fixed, were Seville and Lima in Peru. The method in which these positions were fixed, although the account of it may be prolix, is so curious, and so important, both now and in the future, that it is given here.

In former years your Majesty sent out orders to the Indies that the eclipses of the years 1577 and 1578 should be observed. Pedro Sarmiento observed near Lima[2] in 1578, on a hill called "Quipani-urco",[3] in presence of the clergyman of the village, named Gaspar de Lorca, and of a good pilot and arithmetician, named Sebastian Rodrigrez, who assisted, made notes, and signed as witnesses.

On that hill the eclipse ended at eight hours and one-sixteenth of an hour in the evening. This same eclipse

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of the Indies, and author of the six first books of Euclid translated into Spanish (Seville, 1576, 4to.) of a work entitled, *Cosmografia, Compendio del arte de navegar* (Seville, 1586), which went through several editions, and was translated into Dutch by Everart in 1598, and of *Carta de marear* (Seville, 1588).

[1] The Casa de la Contratacion at Seville was originally established in 1503 to despatch fleets, grant licences, and dispose of the results of trade and exploration. Subsequently, it despatched all business of this kind, under the orders of the Council of the Indies, which was instituted in 1511 for the control of all American affairs.

[2] 77° W.

[3] *Quipani*, in the Quishne language, means "I cover." *Urco* here signifies a mountain. Differently pronounced, it would mean the male of any animal.

was observed by Rodrigo Zamorano in Seville, who showed me the computation. The result was that the eclipse ended on the meridian of Seville[1] at one hour exactly after midnight.

Although Chaves,[2] in his Repertory, gives the end of the eclipse at 1 hour 24 min., yet as science and experience combined, when they agree, are irrefragable witnesses, we most go with Zamorano who observed, rather than with Chaves who did not observe, though he made the calculation. The difference then that is derived from the observations of Sarmiento and Zamorano is as follows:—

The difference is 4 hours 56 min., which, reduced to degrees, gives 74° of longitude, and this is the number of degrees of longitude between the meridians of Seville and Lima.[3]

This investigation was very interesting, for no one up to that time had worked out the observations with so much care, so that it aroused admiration in those who saw it, and great satisfaction in all who understood. They then proceeded to examine the charts with promptness and diligence.

The first was the chart of Sancho Gutierrez, the cosmographer and draughtsman of Seville, who places Lima 7° more to the west than its true and fixed meridian. It should be corrected as regards its longitude.

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[1] 5° 58′ W.

[2] Alonso de Chaves was the author of a manuscript at Simancas, entitled *Relacion de la Orden que observaba en el examen y admision de pilotos y maestros de la carrera de Indias*, 1561. He also wrote the *Repertorio* referred to by Sarmiento. He was the predecessor of Zamorano as examiner of pilots at Seville. See *Herrera, Dec. III*, p. 219, and *Dec. IV*, p. 30.

[3] The result is nearly three degrees out. Lima is in 77° W. of Greenwich. The 74° of Zamorano's result added to the 5° 58′ that Seville is west of Greenwich, gives 79° 58′ as the longitude of Lima, or 2° 58′ too far west.

Another chart and "padrone" of Diego Gutierrez, cosmographer and draughtsman, father of Sancho Gutierrez, also has the meridian of Lima 7° too far to the westward, which should be corrected.

A Portuguese chart of Anton Pablos places Lima 3° east of its true position,[1] thus differing 10° from both the above charts, or two-thirds of an hour.

In another Portuguese chart of one Vincente Noble, a draughtsman of Lima, that city is 4° too far west.

On another more modern chart of the above-mentioned Diego Gutierrez, we find Lima 4° 45′ too far to the west.

In short, none are found to be correct, some being short of the true position, others going beyond it, and so, having gained this experience, one rests assured "*unanima consensu ac nemine prorsus discrepante*" that in this distance of 74° of longitude we may place and establish the meridians of Seville and Lima.

It should be understood that these remarks are with regard to longitude. In the matter of latitude, commencing with the ancient reckoning from Seville, the chart in present use may be followed for Africa and Guinea. In the Indies, beginning from Lima, the courses should be in accordance with the charts of the modern explorers in the South Sea; and in the archipelagos and Strait of the Mother of God they should follow the description of Pedro Sarmiento. From the Strait to the river of Plata the coast is laid down by Magellan,[2] Ladrillero,[3] Simon de Alcazaba,[4] and Pedro

[1] This is almost exactly correct.

[2] In 1520.

[3] Garcia de Hurtado, the Governor of Chile, sent Juan de Ladrilleros in 1557 from Valdivia, to examine the southern coast as far as the Strait of Magellan. He reached the eastern end of the Strait, and returned to Chile, all the crew having died of starvation and cold, except two men and himself.

[4] In 1534-35.

Sarmiento. The coast from the River Plata to the Marañon is laid down on the Portuguese charts.

These bases having been settled, Pedro Sarmiento made the "padrone" for the North and South Seas. As regards the rumb lines they had been badly ruled on the parchments by Sancho Gutierrez, who was ill at the time, and he died soon afterwards. Thus Pedro Sarmiento was left without any draughtsman to help him, and he had to take the sole charge himself, working incessantly because the time was so short, and the summer was passing away. He constructed twenty-three charts and a *padron* which was sent to your Majesty. By these arrangements the charts were prepared for this voyage. Astrolabes, cross-staves, needles, and other navigation instruments were all provided in sufficient quantity, so that there might be nothing wanting; in conformity with the demands of all the navigators, pilots, masters, and captains, no objections being raised.

REPORT

Touching the Captains and Ships, Masters and Pilots, that his Majesty appointed for the fleet sent for the enterprise of the Strait of the Mother of God, previously called of Fernando de Magallanes, and a list of the settlers in the Strait.

(From the *Navarrete Manuscripts* copied from the *Archives of the Indies.*)

SACRED CATHOLIC ROYAL MAJESTY:

First the galleass *Capitana* was named SAN CRISTOVAL; on board of which embarked the General Diego Flores de Valdes, and the Governor Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa. The Captain of the ship was Juan de Garibay, Chief Pilot Anton Pablos Corso, second Pilot Pedro Jorge, a Portuguese, and the Master a Biscayan named Juan de Arancibia.

The ship *Almiranta* was named SAN JUAN BAUTISTA, on board of which embarked the Admiral Diego de la Ribera. The Captain was his brother, Alonso de las Alas, the Pilot a Portuguese, named Pero Diaz, who was Chief Pilot of the river Plate, second Pilot Luis Gomez, and the Master a Biscayan named Martin de Guirieta.

The ship CONCEPCION, Captain Gregorio de las Alas, Pilot Alfonso Perez, a Portuguese, the Master Ortiz of Bilbas.

The ship SAN ESTEVAN DE ARRIOLA, Captain Juan Gutierrez de Palomar, Pilot Bartolomè Vasquez, and Master Villaviciosa Unzueta.

The ship SAN MIGUEL, Captain Hector Albarca, Master Martin de Lecoya.

The ship SANCTI SPIRITUS, Captain Villaviciosa Unzueta.

The ship MARIA DE JESUS, Captain Gutierrez de Solis, Master Balthazar de Varaona.

The ship NUESTRA SEÑORA DE ESPERANZA, which came from Peru by the Strait, Captain Pero Estevan de las Alas, Master Pedro de Ojeda.[1]

The ship GALLEGA, Captain Martin de Quiros, Master Hormachea.

The ship MARIA DE BUEN PASAGE, Captain Toder, Pilot Gasper Madera, Master Juan de Sagasti, who deserted at San Lucar, and was succeeded by the Pilot.

The ship MARIA DE SAN VICENTE, Captain Fernando Morejon, Pilot Garci Bravo, Master Juan de Arrieta.

The ship MARIA, Captain Francisco de Nevares, Pilot Francisco Jimenes, Master Miguel de Sarasti.

The ship FRANCESCA, Captain Juan de Aguirre, Master Juan de la Suerte.

The ship SANTA MARIA DE BEGOÑA,[2] Captain Pedro de Aquino,[3] Pilot Rodrigo de Mora, Master Juan Rodriguez de Aguilera.

The frigate MARIA MAGDALENA of his Majesty, Captain Diego de Ovalle,[4] Pilot Fuentidueña, Master Salvador Moreno.

The frigate SANTA ISABEL of his Majesty, Captain Suero Queipo, Pilot Pedro Sanchez, Master Toribio de Santa Maria.

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[1] She was lost in Cadiz Bay.

[2] Sunk by the English at San Vicente.

[3] Superseded by Rodrigo de Rada at the Cape Verdes.

[4] Shifted to the *Francesca* at Cadiz, and succeeded by Domingo Martinez de Avendaño.

The frigate SANTA CATALINA, Captain Francisco de Cuellar, Pilot Melclor Paris, Master Gaspar Antonio.

The frigate GUADALUPE, Captain Alvaro de Busto, Pilot Juan de Escobor, Master Domingo Fernandez.

The ship TRINIDAD, Captain Martin de Zubieta, Pilot Gonzalo de Mesa, Master Domingo Zelain.

The ship SANTA MARTA, Captain Gonzala Menendez, Pilot Juan Quintero, Master Pedro de Scarza.

The ship SAN ESTEVAN DE SOROA, Captain Estevan de las Alas, Pilot Pedro Marquez, Master Juan de Esquivel.

The ship CORZA, Captain and Master Diego de Alabari, Pilot Antonio Rodriquez.

The ship SAN NICOLAS, Captain Vargas, Master Miguel de Zabalaga.

Besides the above-named Captains there were others, namely, Domingo Martinez de Avendaño, who went to Biscay for sailors, and did not return before the ships left Lucar, so when he came to Cadiz, Diego Flores gave him command of the frigate *Magdalena*, Diego de Ovalle taking the *Francesca;* and Rodrigo de Rada, who also went to Biscay for sailors at the same time as Avendaño, and went without a ship as far as the Cape Verdes, when he was given command of the *Begoña*, Pedro de Aquino going to the *San Nicolas*, where the death of Vargas had caused a vacancy.

Sebastian de Palomar enlisted his company in the province of Medina del Campo. He sent it in charge of his ensign, Luis Gonzalez, while he remained behind.

Gaspar de Aquilera raised his company and brought it to Seville, and he was sent to Madrid with it, so that he did not come on the voyage.

Don Alonso de Sotomayor, Governor of Chile, raised 600 men, among whom some were married, by means of his captains, and he was given separate ships to carry his

troops and stores. He himself embarked in the ship called *Santa Catalina.*

The whole fleet carried 3,000 souls, and over them all his Majesty nominated Don Gabriel de Montalvo, an official of the Holy Inquisition of Seville, as Chief Auditor.

For the Strait his Majesty made the following appointments. Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa was Governor and Captain-General; Andres Nuño was Commandant of one of the forts, with Captain Desidero de Figueroa as his deputy; and Diego Martinez, Commandant of the other fort, with Tomas Garri. The Captain of artillery was Andres de Viedma. Hieronimo de Heredia was appointed Accountant and Overseer of the royal revenues. Francisco Garcès de Espinosa, Treasurer, Mayordomo of Artillery, Paymaster, and Storekeeper.

Through Friar Francisco de Guzman, Commissary-General of the Indies for his Majesty, there was appointed a Commissary, named Friar Amador de Santiago, of the order of St. Francis, that he might assemble twelve friars to go in the fleet, for the conversion of the natives of the Strait. The names of the friars were:—

Friar Martin de Torreblanca.
„ Francisco de Peralta (*Preacher*).
„ Luis de Pedroso.
„ Juan de Ocaña.
„ Bartolomè de Benalcazar.
„ Alonso Tomayo.
„ Antonio Rodriguez.
„ Diego de Haro.
„ Antonio de los Angeles.

For the settlements Pedro Sarmiento agreed with his Majesty to collect a hundred settlers, married and single, in addition to the soldiers who were to garrison the forts (*the names follow*). All the unmarried settlers are 114, without counting four boys; but including Felipe the

Patagonian, and two Fuegians, named Francisco and Juan. The married settlers consisted of 43 men, 43 women, and 87 children (*the names follow*): altogether 173 souls, and 118 single, making a total of 291 souls.

His Majesty appointed Baptista Antonelli as engineer of the forts, who took with him Gaspar de Sampier as his assistant, and two servants.

His Majesty ordered that Pedro Sarmiento should take out officers and mechanics for the fortification of the Strait, and he enlisted 111 through Francisco Duarte, at 10 ducats a month each, three months' salary to be paid in advance. These advances were made to the masons, twenty-one in number (*the names follow*), to twenty carpenters (*the names follow*), to ten blacksmiths (*the names follow*), to six stone cutters (*the names follow*), to fourteen gunners (*the names follow*), to four trumpeters (*the names follow*). Altogether, the number of persons who embarked in the port of San Lucar to settle in the Strait was 357.

As many as 171 of these were drowned in the storm on leaving San Lucar, and 189 escaped. Among those drowned were the Friars Juan de Ocoña, Francisco de Peralta, Luis de Pedroso, and the Commandant Diego Martinez. In the place of the latter Tomas Garri was appointed, and to fill the place vacated by Garri as captain, His Majesty appointed Captain Iñiguez.

After the arrival of the fleet at Cadiz, with his Majesty's permission, Pedro Sarmiento enlisted some more officials and settlers to fill the places of those who were drowned, or who had deserted. Among these were thirteen quarry men (*the names follow*). Altogether 1,442 ducats were paid as advances.

The following new settlers joined at Cadiz, twenty-six in number. Besides the above, Pedro Sarmiento employed one, Alvaro Romo, a native of Badajos, to raise some more settlers, and he collected several. When they arrived

at Seville, Pedro Sarmiento sent to San Lucar to see that they were well treated. The General made them soldiers, though they had been engaged as settlers. Those who were selected by the General for the *Capitana* were thirty in number. (*Here follow the names.*)

The number of settlers who finally sailed from Cadiz was 203, besides the thirty settlers from Badajos, who were made to go on board the *Capitana* as soldiers, making in all 223, besides ten friars.

Without counting two commandants, three captains, two royal officers, an engineer, ten friars, and their servants, making 24 souls, there remained 153 settlers, 30 wives, and 26 children.

At the island of Cape Verde more than fifty persons deserted, of whom six were settlers; while four were enlisted there. On the voyage thence to Rio de Janeiro there was a great mortality in the fleet, 151 persons dying, of whom twelve were settlers, including the captain, Antonio de la Parra, and four were women. In Rio de Janeiro there was also much sickness, and more than 200 persons died. Of these eight were settlers, and four settlers deserted.

The total number of officials and settlers who sailed from Rio de Janeiro for the Strait was 206. In a storm in 38° S. the ship *Arriola* went to the bottom, and forty-five settlers were drowned, leaving 154, who came back to the port of Santa Catalina in the other ships, where the General left those who were married, being seventeen families consisting of fifty-six persons, and two friars, besides all the remaining single men. The captain, Suero Queipo, also turned a friar and five settlers out of his ship. When the General made the second voyage to the Strait there were fifty-one settlers in the fleet, which then consisted of the *Capitana San Cristoval*, the *Maria*, the frigates *Santa Catalina* and *Magdalena*, the *Trinidad*, and the

store-ship which was lost in leaving the port of Santos. The General returned on account of a gale of wind, which only lasted two days. When we returned to Santos I embarked some of the married settlers, but the General ordered them to be put on shore again. There are still some remaining, though few ; and may God grant that they may yet be of service to your Majesty, whose sacred Catholic and royal person may our Lord preserve in greater estate, and augment your dominions. At Rio de Janeiro, June 1st, 1583, your Majesty's loyal servant Pedro Sarmiento de Gambóa.

CONCISE NARRATIVE[1]

BY

Pedro Sarmiento de Gambóa, Governor and Captain-General of the Strait of the Mother of God, formerly called the Strait of Magellan, and of the settlements made and which may be made for his Majesty.

I.

Fitting out.—Conduct of Diego Flores.—Opening disaster.—Voyage to Rio de Janeiro.—Wintering.—Disgraceful conduct of Diego Flores and the captains.

Sire:

To the honour and glory of our Lord God, and of the most ever glorious Virgin Mary, our Lady and Advocate, Pedro Sarmiento de Gambóa, their faithful vassal, and the unworthy servant of your Majesty, humbly kisses the royal hands and feet an infinite number of times, in acknowledgment of the singular and royal benignity and most liberal largess granted for his redemption from captivity, and from the power of those infernal ministers of the Devil, such as are the heretics of Gascony in France; for which he prays that the true God may see fit to concede to your Majesty many prosperous and most happy years with complete health and strength, and with

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[1] From the MS. *Coleccion de Muñoz*, tom. xxxvii: copied from a document at Simancas. Printed in the *Coleccion de Documentos Ineditos relativos al descubrimiento, conquista, y organizacion de las antiguas posesiones Españolas en America y Oceania*, por Luis Torres de Mendoza (Madrid, 1886), tom. v, cuadernos iii, iv, v.

increase of many and greater kingdoms and empires, as well as his divine grace, to sustain, defend, and increase his holy church and Catholic faith, and to pass through this temporal life in such wise as to merit the eternal and celestial abode with the blessed. Amen, Amen.

Giving an account and explanation to your Majesty of his obligation, duties, and actions, which were entrusted and committed to him with the good grace and permission of your Majesty, he says that, as now your Majesty very well knows, the said Pedro Sarmiento de Gambóa departed from the city of Kings, in the kingdom of Peru, on the 11th of October 1579, by order of the Viceroy, Don Francisco de Toledo, to operate against the piratical robber, Francis Drake, who had done and was doing excessive harm along the coasts of Peru, Chile, and Mexico, and other parts of the south and north seas ; and more especially to examine the Strait of Magellan by which the said robber had entered, to survey it and proceed to give a report to your Majesty setting forth the needs of that land and applying for a remedy, that your Majesty might order it to be settled and fortified, so that this way might be closed, for the security of the Indies and of other lands of your Majesty situated on the shores of the South Sea. He performed this service with the favour of our Lord God, and he gave a long and true account of all he did and saw, with authentic opinions, signed by all those who were with him, and attested by the royal notary, with the descriptions of the lands, archipelago, and strait which he discovered. This he did in Badajoz, kissing the royal hands of your Majesty in the end of September, of the year 1580 ; in which your Majesty, in your royal graciousness and magnanimity, held yourself to have been well served by the said Pedro Sarmiento, for which such high and singular recognition he held himself rewarded for his

services, and remained under the obligation to serve anew with the voluntary sacrifice of his life.

Your Majesty for this object, with a lavish and royal hand, ordered a most abundantly supplied expedition as regards both men and supplies, and nominated Diego Flores de Valdes as General of the Sea on the coast of Brazil and in the Strait, ordering him to examine the Strait, and to erect forts in the narrowest part opposite to each other, and not to come away until the said forts were finished and those coasts had been examined. He was to leave 400 soldiers in the forts, with their magistrates and captains, as appears from the third and fourth chapters of the instructions that your Majesty gave to Pedro Sarmiento, and by those of the said Diego Flores de Valdes.

Your Majesty ordered that Pedro Sarmiento should serve by the sea and land, and your Majesty was pleased to honour him with the duties and titles of Governor and Captain-General of the said Strait, and of the forts and settlements which should be established in it, with many prerogatives and privileges for himself and for the settlers in those lands; and in the navigation he was to assist Diego Flores de Valdes with such advice and counsel as might be needed; and Pedro Sarmiento, with Anton Pablos, was to direct and arrange the navigation, as men experienced and accustomed to it.

Item, that Pedro Sarmiento should assist in the selection of sites for the forts, and push on the work so that it might be completed, and that he should settle the surrounding lands, preaching the most holy gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, and causing it to be preached to the idolatrous natives of those regions, and instructing them in the things of our holy Catholic faith, which is the principal object of your Majesty; and in good civil polity, inducing them to recognise their vassalage to your Majesty by the most just and righteous means, according to the

instructions and ordinances of your Majesty's Royal Council of the Indies, signed and given in Lisbon on the 20th August 1581.

Although Pedro Sarmiento sent your Majesty letters and reports with authentic proofs, and duplicate copies, from Rio de Janeiro, Pernambuco, and Bahia in Brazil,[1] yet as there was much delay, and as some were captured by English pirates, for he found some in possession of the Admiral of that land when he was a prisoner, and Don Antonio[2] had other parts and broke them open; and although some reached the hands of your Majesty and of your Royal Council of the Indies, yet, owing to his absence, imprisonment, and captivity, he knows not whether they have been seen; it seems necessary, in order to make up for these accidents, and for the loss of the papers in the numerous shipwrecks suffered by Pedro Sarmiento, to refer generally to the narrative of the said enterprise, as well by word of mouth as in writing, that your Majesty may be certainly informed of the whole truth, in order that such order may be taken as will be best for your royal service. He protests that in what will be here said, he does not desire to treat of any person, but only to give an account to whom he is under obligation to give it, without regard to anyone, for it is not possible to relate the circumstances without naming those persons who were the officials concerned in the business.

Your Majesty gave orders, in the town of Thomar, in the kingdom of Portugal, that Pedro Sarmiento de Gambóa should be appointed to serve with the title of Governor and Captain-General solely as regards the forts, without providing for the settlements. But Pedro Sar-

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[1] Those from Rio and Pernambuco were duly received, and are still preserved in manuscript.

[2] Prior of Crato. The pretender to the crown of Portugal.

miento, seeing that the forts could not be maintained without settlements and cultivators of the land, made a communication with the members of the "Junta", who at that time were Antonio de Heraso, Juan Delgado, and Antonio de Illescas, offering to take out settlers without expense to His Majesty. Accepting the offer, they communicated it to your Majesty, by whom, as it seemed good, it was accepted and so arranged. And your Majesty ordered Pedro Sarmiento to go and communicate with the Duke of Alva,[1] the Marquis of Santa Cruz, and Don Francisco de Alava at Lisbon, who, as regards the forts and settlements, were of the same opinion.

This being settled, your Majesty ordered Pedro Sarmiento to go to Seville to assist in the equipment of the fleet, and he collected the settlers as he had proposed, many of them married men, who numbered 300 persons with women and children, besides fifty officials for the forts, quarry men, blacksmiths, and carpenters.

In compliance with the orders given by your Majesty in Thomar, and afterwards by royal letters, he examined the ships that had been engaged for the expedition and brought forward, and he gave a special account of each ship, reporting to your Majesty what should be done. Your Majesty held this to be useful service, and ordered him to continue it with the necessary diligence. As Pedro Sarmiento saw that some good ships were passed over as gifts, and owing to the high prices, and other defective vessels were selected, he took steps to prevent this by giving notice to your Majesty. On account of his interference Diego Flores conceived such hatred for Pedro Sarmiento that he showed it both in words and deeds, speaking against him in public, and trying to thwart him

[1] Herrera says that the Duke of Alva considered the scheme to fortify the Straits to be impracticable.

in all his business. More especially, he began to impede the payments which your Majesty had ordered to be made to the sailors and soldiers who had come from Peru with Pedro Sarmiento by way of the Strait.

Your Majesty having ordered, by a special royal letter, that two companies of 500 soldiers should be raised for the forts in the Strait, and that these should be specially selected, in order that the 400 who were to remain might be chosen from them, Pedro Sarmiento showed the letter of your Majesty containing this order to Diego Flores; but he would not obey it nor take any steps about it, of which your Majesty was informed. This inconvenient course would have given rise to serious mischief, for if all the soldiers were in a confused body, no account would be taken of their necessities and infirmities, and thus they would die or desert; while by taking steps to know them, they would be under inspection in the same way as the settlers.

When there was the greatest necessity for hastening the equipment of the fleet, the said Diego Flores de Valdes left everything in confusion at Seville, and, without saying a word to the President and officers of the "Casa de Contratacion",[1] nor to Pedro Sarmiento, he absented himself and went to San Lucar, leaving all the business unsettled, the pilots and masters not engaged, and an infinity of other things unprovided for, each one of them being most necessary. The officials were astonished and scandalized, and the President Santillana,[2] communicating with Pedro

[1] The "Casa de Contratacion" at Seville was established by an ordinance of 1503, with authority to grant licences, despatch fleets, and to dispose of the results of trade and exploration. When the Council of the Indies was instituted in 1511 the "Casa de Contratacion" became subordinate to it, and transacted the commercial business of the colonies under its orders.

[2] The President of the Council of the Indies from 1579 to 1583 was the Licentiate Don Antonio Padilla y Meneses. Santillana presided over the "Casa de Contratacion" at Seville.

Sarmiento, said that as such a thing had happened now, it seemed a bad augury of what would happen to the expedition hereafter. He ordered Pedro Sarmiento to take charge of the neglected business, which he did, getting together the pilots, masters and divers, and all that was still wanting as regards munitions of war, clothing, and materials for the forts, and embarked them. He also caused a brigantine to be made in pieces, for service in reconnoitring shallow places and channels under oars and sails. He made the charts with his own hand, and procured astrolabes, compasses, and other necessary things, looking after everything personally by day and night, and at all hours, and he would have done more if it had been possible, in his Majesty's service.

Having completed all that was necessary in Seville, embarked the soldiers and settlers, and sent them to San Lucar, Pedro Sarmiento went there himself to go on board, on the 15th of September. Diego Flores did not wish that Pedro Sarmiento should embark, and during more than nine days he refused to receive his luggage and people, Diego Flores and the rest being embarked. It was necessary to show the order of his Majesty and to call upon the Duke of Medina Sidonia to interfere, yet all this was not sufficient, and he persisted. Not only did he do this while in port, giving as an excuse that the luggage of Pedro Sarmiento was so heavy that he could not take it on board until he had crossed the bar; but even after the large ship had crossed the bar to some distance, and anchored in 20 fathoms, he refused to receive it twice, and even sent back the treasure of your Majesty intended for the use of the fleet. While the treasure and the luggage of Pedro Sarmiento were being taken on shore again, the wind and sea rose on the bar, and the treasurer would have been lost with the money, if the boats with the luggage, which were large, had not come to their help and taken them on

board. Even when the same Pedro Sarmiento went himself personally, he did not wish to receive him, although he was ready to start, and could not go without him. Nor did he wish to receive 800 cwts. of biscuit which Pedro Sarmiento brought, and it had been sent to the ship *Baraona*,[1] where it was taken on board. Pedro Sarmiento embarked in spite of Diego Flores, having lost the greater part of his luggage, owing to the showers which fell over the boats which were on the sea without covering. A great deal more was stolen, both of money and goods, to the value of more than 1,500 ducats. He dissembled, in order to avoid an altercation with Diego Flores, and to be able peaceably to perform the service and to carry out the wishes of his Majesty.

As the cause of the loss of the ships and men was the injudicious departure from the port, I will give an account of it, although it is now well known and an old story.

The Duke of Medina Sidonia, without regard of the weather or of the opinions of seamen, forced this fleet to put to sea, towing out the ships with galleys until they were beyond the bar of the river of San Lucar de Barrameda, on the 25th of September 1581, against the wish of all the pilots, of Diego Flores, and of Pedro Sarmiento. The latter, then protesting against the departure, said to the Duke, to Don Pedro de Tarsis and the rest, that we were being towed out by force of oars, and that the departure was contrary to the opinions of good seamen because it was the eve of the conjunction of the first moon of autumn, which generally awakens strong winds from S.E. and S.W. in that part of the country, that such winds are contrary and dangerous for vessels between Capes St. Vincent and Cantin, for they would be driven on the thick sands,[2] where both ships and men would be lost; that it would be right to

[1] *Begoña.*

[2] *Arenas gordas.*

wait until after the moon's conjunction, to take counsel respecting the weather, and to follow the advice of seamen ; moreover, that he should not be deceived by the land breeze which was blowing on that day, caused by the rain which had recently fallen, that the coolness of the land caused it, and that it did not extend two leagues out to sea.

All this did not suffice to put reason into them, and, as they had the power, they made the fleet put to sea. Three days had not passed before, on the eve of St. Francis, the second of the moon, a furious wind sprang up from South and S.W. when the fleet was between the two capes, without power to navigate either to north or south. Thus it was that all began to drift towards the shore, without hope of being saved. Diego Flores ordered the cargo and anchors to be thrown overboard. Pedro Sarmiento prevented this from being done, and caused the poop of the ship to be strengthened, for great seas were coming over it, and pouring on the deck where the soldiers were stationed in much anxiety of mind, believing that they would perish. With this protection and the animating words of Pedro Sarmiento, God comforted and emboldened them.

Eighteen ships reached Cadiz with much difficulty, but the *Gallega* was swallowed up, and foundered with all hands at the entrance of the bay, and in the midst of the other ships, with one blow of the sea. Four others were lost off Rota, on the Picacho, and on the Arenas-gordas, with 800 men who were on board. The large galleass would certainly have been lost in the port, if the anchors had been thrown overboard, as Diego Flores desired.

The fleet having arrived at Cadiz, Diego Flores was in such a state of dismay and perturbation that he was unable to give an order, nor to apply a remedy to any defect. All he could do was to send excuses so as not to have to go on

the voyage, and to ask permission of your Majesty to remain behind, as your Majesty well knows.

Pedro Sarmiento, seeing this, sent a report of what had happened to your Majesty and to the "Casa de Contratacion", and he visited the ships, taking notes of all defects, which he promptly reported to the "Contratacion" at Seville. As the ship *Barahona*, which had returned to San Lucar in a dismantled state, had many things for the Strait on board, and was unable to continue the voyage, Pedro Sarmiento sent a special officer for them with an order of Francisco de Tello, the Treasurer of the "Contratacion". The things were recovered and brought to Cadiz, where they were delivered to the masters for survey and report. He also sent to Rota to recover two pieces of artillery which the people of Rota had recovered from the ship which Sarmiento brought from Peru by way of the Strait. She was lost off Rota, but the artillery was recovered and delivered to the masters of the fleet.

As soon as his Majesty knew of the loss of men, provisions and munitions, and of the helplessness of Diego Flores, from the report of Pedro Sarmiento, he ordered all losses to be fully made up from the store-houses, instructing Pedro Sarmiento to draw for what was needed, as he did, embarking everything on board the ships of the fleet, and entering afresh more settlers and officers, to make up for those who had been lost in the storm. By order of your Majesty and of the "Contratacion" he kept watch in person, and through his people and servants, to prevent the crews from deserting, and the masters from taking anything to sell, as they had done before. He stopped these practices, giving notice to Diego Flores and to Don Francisco Tello, that they, as Judges, might remedy the evil by making an example. But excuses were easily accepted, and this was the occasion for further insubordination and robbery. Your Majesty was advised of this,

and Pedro Sarmiento was ordered to persevere in his vigilance. As an example of the way in which these faults were punished, one case may be mentioned. The Serjeant-Major of the fleet, in going the rounds one night, found a master of the fleet with some goods, and when he tried to stop him, the man resisted with violence. When this was made known to Diego Flores, he sent for the Serjeant-Major and reprimanded him, saying that he should let the masters do these things as he had to live with them, if he wished to make a profit. From that time the Serjeant-Major got a little from all, for having entered the fleet without a real, he left it very well supplied, and leaving the confidence of Pedro Sarmiento, he joined the fraternity of those who seek to fill their purses.

All the time that the fleet was at Cadiz, Diego Flores was obstructing the work, and showing that he had no wish to make the voyage, although your Majesty encouraged him. He took no interest in the affairs of the fleet, which caused such ill-will among the soldiers and sailors that many resolved not to make the voyage, and whole companies and squadrons mutinied two or three times, on board the *Capitana*, and in other ships. Pedro Sarmiento did what he could, with much risk of his person and loss of his estate; for Diego Flores, the captains, and other officers not only applied no remedy, but even wished that the fleet should be broken up and the voyage abandoned. For what Pedro Sarmiento did on this occasion your Majesty took as good service.

Being at Cadiz, your Majesty ordered Pedro Sarmiento, with the chief pilots of Brazil, to go to Gibraltar and communicate with the Duke of Medina Sidonia respecting the wintering, and as to what place in Brazil should be chosen for it, your Majesty having suggested Rio de Janeiro. Discoursing with the Duke, it seemed to Pedro Sarmiento and to the pilots that it would be well to avoid

that port on account of the prevalence of worms which destroy the ships, and by reason of other inconveniences. But the orders from Lisbon[1] were that the fleet should winter in that river.

Diego Flores being at Cadiz, and unwilling to proceed on the voyage, your Majesty wrote to him to encourage him, and offering him rewards; sending by another letter to Don Fransisco Tello an order to speak to him, and if he still did not wish to proceed, to open another paper which your Majesty had sent, and to execute the orders contained in it. Diego Flores was not moved by the letter of your Majesty. Don Francisco Tello then told him what his orders were, and Diego Flores, fearing that in the paper another General would be appointed, submitted out of fright to what he had refused when offered rewards. But he did this in so lukewarm a way that all were of opinion that Diego Flores never desired to prosecute the voyage, as, indeed, he clearly showed in many other ways.

The fleet being ready to leave the bay of Cadiz, and all being embarked, a fresh easterly wind sprang up, which is wont to do harm in this bay. Some vessels were driven on shore, and others dragged their anchors. Among them was a frigate of your Majesty, of which Alvaro Bastos, a son-in-law of Diego Flores, was captain. Seeing that she was about to be lost, Pedro Sarmiento said to Diego Flores that they should go in the boat and launch of the galleass to help her; and that he would go in person, taking an anchor and cable. Diego Flores not only did not wish to do it, or give orders about it, but was enraged at the suggestion. Thus the frigate was lost on the reefs of the Cross. When Pedro Sarmiento beheld such neglect and perdition, not regarding his own provocation, but only thinking of the service of God and your Majesty and the good of all, with-

[1] Where the court then was.

out further words with Diego Flores, he got into a boat with his servants, and went on shore to save those who were wrecked in the frigate. They found that the pilot had fled with a quantity of rope and blankets, and that the captain was hidden on shore. Pedro Sarmiento got out and saved the arquebuses and muskets, some pipes of wine, cordage, and other things that would be useful, but the powder and bread were soaked by the water. He also recovered one or two pieces of artillery, and placed them in your Majesty's magazine.

As Pedro Sarmiento knew of the robbery of the blankets and cordage, and that these stores were in a certain house where the master had hidden them, he gave notice to Don Francisco Tello, who reported it to the Judge of the "Contratacion" at Cadiz, that they might be recovered. But all had been carried off, so that nothing was saved, touching which the Magistrate of Cadiz lodged an information against Diego Flores.

Pedro Sarmiento being on shore, occupied with these and other duties for the service of your Majesty and profit of the royal revenues, in which Diego Flores was under every obligation to assist, and Pedro Sarmiento was further receiving many tools from the "Casa de Contratacion" at Seville, to replace those that had been lost, without which the fortifications could not have been proceeded with; yet on asking the Admiral for a boat from his ship to deliver them to the other ships, he did not wish to send it. So, in order that the tools might not be left behind and lost, Pedro Sarmiento gave ten ducats to a shore boat to take them to the store ships, which was done. When Diego Flores knew this, he departed without waiting for Pedro Sarmiento, leaving him on shore and going to sea without him. In order to catch him up, Pedro Sarmiento hired a brigantine, which cost him more money, and went in chase some considerable distance outside. Diego Flores laughed

when he saw the shipman being paid, for he always rejoiced at the troubles and expenses of Pedro Sarmiento, who considered all well spent in the service of your Majesty, even life itself.

Departing from Cadiz in such confusion as was notified to your Majesty, on the 9th of December 1581, we had good weather as far as Cape Verde, where we arrived on the 9th of January 1582. Here we found the Portuguese inhabitants of the city of Santiago devoted to your Majesty; for the Governor, Gaspar de Andrada, had explained the matter to them, he being well educated and a good Christian, showing them that your Majesty is the natural and legitimate heir to the lordship and kingdom of Portugal and its dependencies, one of which was this island. Both Andrada and Pedro Sarmiento had become acquainted with each other before, when Pedro Sarmiento, coming from the Strait last year, touched at Santiago, and, with the favour of God, defended these islands from the French pirates, fighting with them, once at the request of the said Governor, and driving them away from that neighbourhood. Although the Bishop of the island was of a different opinion, yet he blessed the standard of the fleet, and a friendly feeling was established with the inhabitants, so that they were contented and confirmed in the service of your Majesty.

Pedro Sarmiento being here, in company with the Governor of the Island and Diego Flores, he examined the positions round this city and on the beach, and with the engineer Antonelli he measured and made a plan of the passes and dangerous places, with a view to their being repaired and fortified, of which he drew up a description and a scheme, describing the island and the weak points; respecting which, and touching the resources and noteworthy things of that and the neighbouring islands, and of Guinea and the adjacent main land, with its rivers and

other secrets, he made a report which was communicated to the principal persons of the island, especially to the Governor of the island, and to his deputy and legal adviser Bartolomé de Andrada. Through the Governor it was sent to your Majesty, and the Governor also gave it to Diego Flores to be sent with the despatch which he forwarded by a messenger on board a caravel to Spain. But Diego Flores chose to lose it, in order that nothing might arrive that would give your Majesty satisfaction connected with the services of Pedro Sarmiento. That your Majesty considered it a sign of malice on the part of Diego Flores, when letters were received from him and not from Pedro Sarmiento, was shown in the despatch written to Rio de Janeiro and brought out by Don Diego de Alcega.

The fleet was a month at the Cape Verde Island, and left there for Rio de Janeiro. On the voyage many fell ill, and upwards of 150 died. Many more would have died if it had not been for the mercy of God, and for the gifts of benevolent persons. With the grace of God Pedro Sarmiento did what he could, sending to the different ships some necessaries for the sick and convalescent settlers. Diego Flores disliked this so much that he could not dissimulate, and almost wanted to stop it. His indifference and uncharitableness was such that, when Pedro Sarmiento mentioned one day that a settler in one of the other ships was dead, he presently said "I wish they were all dead!" Such a thing can scarcely be believed unless it was heard and seen, and it was a notable scandal to all on board the galleass. When Pedro Sarmiento gently and temperately remonstrated, showing the good service that would be done to God and your Majesty by settling people in those lands, and how desirable and charitable it was to sustain and nourish them, he answered so *mal a propos* as to say:—"I do not know with what title and right his Majesty can be called King of the Indies." Seeing so great a brutality in

a serious man, and a servant of your Majesty who was under such obligations to the royal service, Pedro Sarmiento was astonished.

Desiring to put him right, the arguments of Sarmiento only served to exasperate him more. Sarmiento set forth all the divine and human titles which your Majesty has to the Indies, as Fray Francisco de Victoria[1] explains in his work. He added many others which he established when he collected proofs in Peru of the ancient usurpation in those parts and of the tyranny of the Incas. Touching these things, he sent to your Majesty an ancient history both written and shown in pictures, which was forwarded by the Viceroy Don Francisco de Toledo, Mayordomo of your Majesty, and so diligent in his devotion and service to your Majesty and in the increase of the royal crown, of which Dr. Pero Gutierrez, Judge of the Royal Council of the Indies, is witness, who worked no less, in peace and war, and in general visitations during the viceroyalty of the said Don Francisco de Toledo. These proofs were brought by Hieronimo Pacheco, a servant of the said viceroy, in the year 1572, but all did not suffice to convince Diego Flores of the truth until Pedro Sarmiento showed him the Bull, and *motu proprio* and certain knowledge of Pope Alexander VI, which was the first concession, nomination, and assignment of the Indies to the very high and fortunate Catholic Kings of glorious and eternal memory, great-grandparents of your Majesty, and first discoverers of the Indies and preachers of the holy gospel to the natives, and to their successors, as your Majesty is. Sarmiento said that whosoever contradicted that, disputed the power of the Pope, and

[1] Fray Francisco de Vittoria, a native of that town in the province of Alava, was a Dominican and Professor of Theology at Salamanca; Author of a work on *Theologia* (two vols., Lugd., 1557), which went through several editions. The fourth book is entitled *De Indias et Jure Belli*. He died at Salamanca in 1546. See *Antonio*, i, p. 496.

accused the royal conscience, and was open to suspicion in both cases. Diego Flores was silenced but not convinced, from which it may be gathered with what sort of zeal he worked in the royal service of your Majesty.

We arrived at the port of Rio de Janeiro on the 24th of March 1582, where the fleet wintered in compliance with the order of your Majesty, until the end of November of the same year; where many died of those who had been taken ill during the voyage, and many more fell ill of a disease of the brain, which is a pestilence of that land. It is easy to cure by those who understand it, but if it is not understood or not cured within two or three days, there is no remedy and it becomes incurable, killing by excessive vomiting. It is called the disease of the country.

During these visitations of illness, the Portuguese of the city of San Sebastian offered to cure the sick, asking for some alms from Diego Flores, out of the royal treasure of his Majesty, sent for these and like necessities. Diego Flores once gave them some *reales*, not amounting to a hundred, for more than 200 sick. The Governor, Salvador Correa, and the citizens of the town, being extremely poor, did what they could, but Diego Flores never gave any more, not even ordinary rations for healthy men, so that 150 died, and others, seeing this, deserted. Pedro Sarmiento, seeing the danger at hand, arranged that the settlers should be lodged in the houses of the inhabitants of the land, where they were cared for and cured, and not more than four died. He also constructed houses of palm branches for the officials, visiting and ministering to them at all hours, so that, to the glory of God, they were cured, and only one died out of 150.

While they were wintering, in order to avoid idleness, which is apt to give rise to evil thoughts rather than to good works, Pedro Sarmiento, with the consent of Diego Flores, made the people construct two portable wooden

houses, to be taken on board the ships in pieces, so that, on arriving at that part of the Strait where they were going to remain, they could soon be put together for storage of munitions and provisions in a safe place. The Governor, Salvador Correa, provided large timber, and Pedro Sarmiento caused it to be sawn into planks in great quantity. When one house had been completed, large and well fitted to the satisfaction of all, the envy of Diego Flores was such that he interfered to prevent the other from being made, proposing that the rest of the planks should be used to make hods for carrying earth, although the ships were supplied with them of leather, the best that could be made. Commencing to make them, he got tired on the first day, and left the work because it did not proceed as he wished. He sent to ask Pedro Sarmiento to go on with it, with the Admiral, and Pedro Sarmiento, to facilitate the service, dissimulated in all things, thinking it better to give up his right and to suffer than, through pride and presumption, to have a quarrel with Diego Flores, though he gave occasion for one at each moment. Influenced by these motives he returned to superintend the work, causing the hods and moulds to be made, all which, with the pieces of the house were embarked when the ships sailed for the Strait.

It would not be for the service of your Majesty to pass over in silence anything that was done here during the wintering, respecting the waste and dissipation of the royal property. For it was a cause for sorrow and regret to see the thousand ways in which the provisions, stores, and munitions, as well as the fittings of the fleet, were robbed and wasted, and the materials for construction of fortifications and houses, down to needles and thread. Even the greater part of the treasure of your Majesty, which was sent for the use of the people and the fleet, was given away to any persons who might come, and in like manner much of the stores got into the possession of such persons by

illicit means, who sold them to the inhabitants of the city of Rio de Janeiro and of San Vicente, and afterwards at Bahia. Even those who bought them were ashamed and grieved to see the destruction of things for which they gave low prices, as for things that had cost little. Many other things, such as wire, iron and steel, and clothing, were exchanged for Brazil wood to take to Spain and sell. Pedro Sarmiento, who had his dwelling at the beach of embarkation, knew and saw all this by night and day. At night he secretly stationed sentries, who frequently caught the property in the hands of those who came on shore in the boats to sell or hide it, and if he had had jurisdiction over the delinquents, it is very certain that he would have punished them and remedied the evil. As he was unable to do this, he reported what took place to Diego Flores, that he might apply a remedy, but he might as well have spoken to the dead. For many were engaged in it, and he did not wish to interfere, except in the case of some one poor creature whom he would try but not punish, and all the rest would laugh. Pedro Sarmiento made much of these disorders, both in public and private, but the only result was that Diego Flores put himself in opposition to him, and favoured the delinquents, diminishing the stock of provisions by festivities and follies, and representing the impossibilities of the undertaking to everyone, declaring they would all die of hard work and hunger, without a hope of ever receiving rewards or pay. When he came to the workshop to see the officials who worked in the way I have described, instead of encouraging them, he said with vehemence, "Oh, poor and unlucky wretches! whither do you go, who has deceived you into coming here to die without profit?" Besides this, he stopped the rations, which was the reason that many fled and hid themselves in the forests. Not content with this,

he gave the best carpenter we had, who could also serve as engineer and surveyor, to the monks,[1] although he had received pay from your Majesty. When Pedro Sarmiento wanted to recover his services, Diego Flores made them give him the habit of a lay brother so that he could not be taken away.

In order to buy meat and flour at the towns of Santos, San Vicente, and Campo, Diego Flores sent the quantity of your Majesty's treasure that is now known in the Council of the Indies, with Diego de la Ribera and the Treasurer of the fleet, also sending a quantity of the cloth which your Majesty sent with Pedro Sarmiento, for the use of the people who were to remain at the Strait, as well as iron tools and many other stores, which he ought not to have done, as he had more than enough money, while the stores could not be obtained here, and without them the orders of your Majesty could not be carried out. Sometimes they took a quantity of canvas of both old and new sails, and some of the officers of the fleet, the captains, the notary, and the sergeant-major and purveyor, carried off or sent wine and clothes to San Vicente in payment for meat and flour. The money paid by the Portuguese was divided among themselves. It was so that at the time of paying for the meat and flour, the Treasurer set up a tent like a pedlar, with the cloth, canvas, wine, old and new stores, iron and steel tools. When Diego de la Ribera delivered them to the Treasurer, they came to him, and the Treasurer made them take by force the old canvas at the price of new, and kept back the new and good cloth for those who were in his company, who afterwards sold it again to the Portu-

[1] *Teatinos.* This was an order of regular clergy, first approved in 1524. It was so called because Giovanni Piero Carrafa, who afterwards became Pope as Paul IV, assisted in the formation of this order at San Cayetano. He had been Archbishop of Chieti, in the kingdom of Naples, the old name of which was *Teate*.

guese. These purchasers gave a fourth part in money, and the rest in goods, saying that it belonged to your Majesty, and putting what price they liked upon it. They left many unpaid, and when the Portuguese asked for payment they were threatened, and so they desisted. Thus men who had not a real, got plenty at Rio de Janeiro, and were possessed of sugar and other merchandise to take to Spain, as he who acted as notary at these sales could certify more in detail, if he chose to relate what he saw. He explained it all to me, and gave me several things in writing which I sent to your Majesty, charging the notary to give all his evidence to the Council of the Indies, as he should have done. If evidence was collected in Brazil, many more cases of robbery and destruction would be brought to light.

I will mention one thing from which it will be understood how the business was conducted in all directions. After they came with the flour and dried meat from San Vicente, Pedro Sarmiento went one day to the house of Diego Flores when they were going over the accounts for these expenses. There were present Diego Flores, Diego de la Ribera, the Treasurer, Accountant, Purveyor and others, engaged in investigating some great point respecting which each one was throwing the blame on the rest. Directly they saw Pedro Sarmiento they all became silent and said no more about it. He left them because he had no duty connected with that business, and they remained tearing their beards.

During this wintering at Rio de Janeiro all the ships were attacked by worms and bored, receiving notable harm and deterioration, except those of your Majesty, which had their bottoms covered with lead.[1] For the great heat, with

[1] Sir Richard Hawkins mentions that, in Spain and Portugal, some sheath their ships with the thinnest sheet lead ; but that it is not durable and subject to many casualties. He thinks a good way is to burn the outer planks until they are like coal, and then to pitch them.

the mud and swampy ground, creates these worms, and boils the wood, cordage and nails of the ships. So that, at the time of departure, the greater part was reduced to cinder. Even the iron was rotten to such an extent that it could be ground with the hand, an unheard of thing. Thus what was worked with hoes, spades, or adzes came to pieces in the hands like paper, and at the least blow fell in bits on the ground. The ships were refitted as far as possible, but presently they began to let in water in many parts, so that much fear was felt by all. Diego Flores sent one of the ships to the bottom, and the same ought to have been done with the ship *Arriola*, as she was unseaworthy, but Captain Palomares concealed her condition, thinking it was enough to deceive for the present. Pedro Sarmiento, however, notified to all that the ship was weak, and that the seas that would be encountered would be high. He advised that the people and stores should be divided among the other ships, and that she should be sunk or left; for she was dangerous, as in fact was proved, for she was lost, as will be seen in its place.

There happened at this time a thing which deserves blame. The ships being ready to start on the voyage for the Strait, many of the masters and captains secretly loaded their ships, during the night, with Brazil wood, which is as heavy as iron and very bad for the vessels, as it breaks them and pulls them to pieces. They put so much on board that the ships were very low, and in order to put the Brazil wood under hatches, a quantity of the stores for the Strait were left on the deck, and exposed to be lost, as happened, in the first heavy weather. I considered, as one acquainted with the sea and zealous for the service of God

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The best plan was that used in England, a sheathing of very thin boards, and between it and the ship's side a composition of tar and hair.—*Observations of Sir Richard Hawkins*, Hakluyt Society's vol. for 1878, p. 203.

and the King, that these proceedings were most harmful, and that it might be concluded from them that, the first time the wind blew from the south, these captains would make sail for Spain without stopping in Brazil, to sell their dye wood. For if this had not been their intention it would not have been necessary to load the ships, for they could have left the dye wood, and taken it on board when they returned from the Strait. But they ought not to have done either the one or the other, being military men bound to keep the ships clear and light for receiving the seas during bad weather. Thus it was that the *Arriola*,[1] owing to the weight of her cargo of dye wood, opened out and was disabled. When this became known to Pedro Sarmiento he publicly denounced and reprehended such conduct, making great demands for investigation ; on which Diego Flores ordered, between his teeth, that the dye wood should be landed. It was disembarked from some ships, and even from the *San Cristoval* and the *Arriola* ; but the same night it was put on board the *Arriola* again, as was publicly known, and it cost the crew their lives. Her Master and others, seeing that Pedro Sarmiento has been the cause that the order was given to land the dye wood, publicly declared that they would throw all the stores for the Straits into the sea ; and they did throw a quantity overboard, being the property of your Majesty.

Diego Flores disliked what Pedro Sarmiento did to preserve the property of your Majesty and to check the proceedings of the thieves ; and although he made an appearance of doing the same, he dissimulated too much, and in reality did nothing. But he conceived such hatred for Pedro Sarmiento on account of his efforts, that, contrary

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[1] The *San Estevan de Arriola*. When the fleet sailed from Spain, the captain was Juan Gutierrez de Palomar, the pilot Bartolomè Vasquez, and master Villaviciosa Uncueta.

to the orders of your Majesty that they should be together for mutual help, he separated himself, and made Pedro Sarmiento embark on board another ship, where there was scarcely room for his stores.

Diego Flores said publicly that nothing connected with the fortification or settlement of the Strait should be where he was, for he neither wanted to see nor to understand them. The officials and stores that came out in the *Capitana* were distributed in other ships, with much contempt and disdain ; a thing almost incredible to behold how this man strove to ensure the failure of the expedition, which was of such importance, and of such interest and service to your Majesty.

II.

Incapacity and Villainy of Diego Flores.—Two abortive Voyages.

THE fleet of sixteen ships sailed from Rio Janeiro, badly fitted as regards rigging and other things, and provisioned with flour, roots, meat, and fish obtained at Rio and at San Vicente. They proceeded, with moderate weather, until the 38th parallel was reached, but in the first gale the launch and brigantine were lost. This was the fault of Diego Flores, for Pedro Sarmiento, having built the brigantine at Seville and embarked her in pieces, for use in the Strait, Diego Flores caused her to be put together and armed, contrary to the wishes of Pedro Sarmiento. When Pedro Sarmiento said to Anton Pablos that the sea they had still to pass over would be rough, and that even the ships would have trouble in it, much more a little brigantine which would certainly be lost, Diego Flores laughed and insisted on her being got ready and sailing with a pilot and some sailors, as well as the launch. At the first fresh breeze those who were in the brigantine abandoned her and went on board the ships, leaving her to be lost; and the launch being fast to the stern of the galleass by a tow rope, it was cut by order of Diego Flores, and the launch was also lost. From this I came to the conclusion, in which I was afterwards confirmed, that this man had not the courage even to look at the sea, for when it was blowing he always went below.

Being in 38° the *Arriola*, when there was little wind, began to make so much water one night that it could not be got under by the pumps. She made a great signal

light which the other ships saw, and they came near her, knowing the danger she was in. So they kept company with her all the night, the water always gaining on the pumps. At daylight Diego Flores made sail, and thinking that he wanted to come near the *Arriola* to take the crew on board, as he could easily have done, they told him that they were sinking and that he should come to their help. Without answering, he went on ahead, flying from the *Arriola* before a light west wind which began to blow. Presently the *Arriola* and the other ships made sail after him, and all left her except the ship *Begoña* with Pedro Sarmiento on board and the Captain Rada, and the *Almiranta* with Diego de Ribera. These two vessels kept by the sinking ship, encouraging the crew, while the wind and sea was increasing, though not much. Pedro Sarmiento, seeing that the ship must be lost and that the crew did not take to the boats, said that they should make sail and overtake Diego Flores and the other ships, where they could jump overboard and be taken up. This they did and came up to the ships, but Diego Flores made more sail and ran away more than before, so as not to give them help, and so they were abandoned. The Admiral and Pedro Sarmiento, not having fast ships, were unable to keep up, and having lost sight of the rest of the fleet, were left behind. Next day they fell in with the other ships again, and learnt that the *Arriola* had gone to the bottom that night with all hands, being 350 persons. May God have mercy on their souls. An immense quantity of stores and munitions were also lost, for as she was a large ship of more than 500 tons, she carried many things. This was in December.

This misfortune was due to our sins and negligence. Diego Flores, being frightened, without bad weather, without calling counsel or saying anything, presently began to return and fly back again, not desiring to hear anything Pedro

Sarmiento could say. Thus he came to the port of Don Rodrigo, which is in 28° of latitude. His navigation was so unseamanlike that, having arrived in 40 fathoms of depth near the coast of Viaza, he did not stand out to sea during the night nor shorten sail until daylight, and so all the ships were in danger of being lost. The ship *Santa Marta* was lost. Seeing her upright and entire, Diego Flores took no other step than to leave Diego de la Ribera with her, who sent boats and a vessel with some Franciscan friars, including Fray Juan de Riba de Neyva, Commissary of the river Plate, whom we fell in with by chance in that little vessel, going with the friars to the river Plate. They gave us news that in that port of Don Rodrigo they had found three ships full of English pirates on their way to the Strait, who robbed them of what they had and afterwards returned their boat. The English then departed, but it was not known whither they went. The Captain of the English was named Funtonuy, according to what the Friar told us.[1]

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[1] The English vessels, here mentioned, were the Queen's ship *Leicester* (300 tons), commanded by Edward Fenton, whom the Friar called "Funtonuy", and the *Bonaventure* (300 tons), commanded by Luke Ward, besides the pinnace *Francis* (40 tons), under John Drake, with William Markham as master. Their object was commerce, and their destination the East Indies or China. The Earl of Leicester was the chief adventurer. Fenton's Instructions, from the Lords of the Council, will be found in *Hakluyt*, iii, p. 754, together with a narrative of the voyage written by Ward. Another journal was kept by Mr. Maddox, chaplain of the *Leicester*, and a third by William Hawkins, who was Lieutenant-General under Fenton. Hawkins's Journal is preserved in the British Museum (Otho E. VIII), but much mutilated by fire. What could be deciphered was printed in the volume of the Hakluyt Society on the Hawkins's Voyages (1878). The Instructions are dated April 9th, 1582. They went first to Guinea, and reached the island of Santa Catalina, on the coast of Brazil, in December. When they heard, from the Friar, that Sarmiento was on his way to fortify the Strait of Magellan, they abandoned their plan of passing through it, and anchored at San Vicente, in Brazil, on

Pedro Sarmiento, finding himself in 40 fathoms that night, stood out to sea under easy sail until daylight, showing a light to the vessels near, and telling them to follow him until morning. Thus God was served that we should escape the danger into which the ship ran which blindly confided in Diego Flores. She was lost without a tempest or other cause, but in a smooth sea with a gentle breeze.

In this port of Don Rodrigo, Pedro Sarmiento, disregarding his own personal injuries in view of the public good and of the service of God and of your Majesty, went to speak with Diego Flores and to encourage him to persevere in the undertaking, offering to give orders to his own people to make good the defects of the ships. He argued that the weather was fine, and entreated him to consider the wishes of your Majesty, and the general good of Spain and the Indies, which depended on the efficiency of the forces of the royal crown. I told him that all the world was watching our proceedings from far and near, and that the enemies of the church of God and of your Majesty would rejoice at our incapacity and loss, seeing that from

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January 19th, 1583. A few days afterwards three disabled ships, sent back by Diego Flores, arrived and attacked the English. One of the Spanish ships was sunk. Fenton made no further attempt to prosecute the voyage. He returned home with the two ships, arriving at Kinsale on June 14th, 1583, but the pinnace was wrecked on the coast near the river Plate, and her crew fell into the hands of the natives. John Drake, and a few others, escaped to a Spanish settlement, and were sent to Peru according to Lopez Vaz. Their subsequent fate is unknown.

Edward Fenton was a brother-in-law of Sir John Hawkins, having married Thomasine Gonson, a sister of Sir John's wife. He served with Sir Martin Frobisher in his first and second Arctic voyages; but his voyage to Brazil was an utter failure, and he had a violent quarrel with young William Hawkins. Fenton commanded the *Mary Rose* in the fleet which dispersed the Spanish Armada in 1588. He died at Deptford in 1603.

it they hoped for their own accursed increase in power, while our perseverance and resolution was their perdition. Diego Flores replied that he wanted to go to the island of Santa Catalina, which is eight leagues further back, and that there he would discourse farther on the matter. This was done, as appeared afterwards, to lengthen out the time, so that the winter might come on suddenly and impede the voyage. He intended then to return to Brazil, and thence to Spain, abandoning everything.

Eventually we arrived at the island of Santa Catalina, where Pedro Sarmiento again spoke to Diego Flores, repeating what he had said before. He offered to get the forges and necessary tools ready, and, with the carpenters to cut and dress the wood that was wanted, as there is plenty of timber in the place, and to repair the ships ; for there was not much that required to be done. Diego Flores did not wish to take this advice, hoping that some excuse might arise for returning ; for he and his friends were seeking for reasons to act contrary to their honour. After a few days, Pedro Sarmiento was sent for to talk with Diego de la Ribera, who also tried to persuade him to consent that they should return, placing before him numerous drawbacks, such as the want of men and stores, the bad weather, the state of the vessels, and other absurdities. Pedro Sarmiento replied that so long as he had a plank on which to go, no one could induce him to fail in his duty to your Majesty, and that Diego Flores was under the same obligation, and even greater, as he had a higher command at sea, and had been offered rewards, and been enriched and honoured in the service. As to the want of men to make settlements in the Strait, and to take the ships back, there were plenty ; and as regards the loss of stores and tools your Majesty would provide more, besides we could remedy that evil in the land itself, with the help of God. As for the violent weather, of which rumours had

been spread in Seville with reference to what was suffered in the first discovery, he said he was a knight and would behave as one, and that to die well is an act to be honoured. Besides, having promised your Majesty, he would persevere and set an example to others while wind and weather permitted. Finally, he would undertake to repair the ships, and from this resolution nothing would turn him but God, your Majesty, or death ; and with this he took his leave. On another day Pedro de Rada was sent on the same errand, and he received the same answer in stronger terms. Then Don Alonso de Sotomayor[1] came, as a friend of Pedro Sarmiento, who began to talk seamanship without understanding it. Pedro Sarmiento easily refuted him, and urged upon him that he, who was his friend, should not advise so vile and base a thing, for that he would rather die a thousand deaths than consent to such baseness, with which answer he departed very sad. As they could not honestly return without the consent of Pedro Sarmiento, and as he would be exonerated if they abandoned the enterprise against his will, they sought for another most disorderly way of impeding the voyage.

First, the friends of Diego Flores proposed to him to kill Pedro Sarmiento. But God was served that this should be avoided, and Pedro Sarmiento was warned. Not for this did he swerve from his course, but he kept his counsel and was always on his guard. Yet the proposal appeared the best means of cutting short the career of him who pried into their secrets, for this done they could return without

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[1] Don Alonzo de Sotomayor, Marquīs of Villa Hermosa, was Captain-General of Chile. He was taking a passage with 600 soldiers. He was landed in the river Plate, whence he marched over the Pampas, and across the Andes to his government. He thought he would easily be able to conquer the Araucanian Indians, but he did not succeed after nine years of incessant warfare. He was Captain-General of Chile from 1583 to 1592.

contradiction. Glory be to the true God for so much mercy as was here shown to this unworthy sinner.

In order to oblige Pedro Sarmiento to consent to return, a rumour was spread that the three best ships, which were the *Almiranta*,[1] *Concepcion*,[2] and *Begoña*,[3] were not seaworthy, and that they must either be sunk or sent to Brazil.

This was done by Diego Flores because, without these ships, there were none to take the settlers and friars, nor the stores and provisions; for they were those which carried the greatest proportion of these things. So that without these ships nothing could be done, and a return would be inevitable. The plot was the more easily exposed because the masters of the three ships repudiated the statements of Diego Flores, declaring that their ships were fit and ready for sea, and if anything was wanting, it could be supplied in two days. It is certain that what the masters said was correct. In order to satisfy himself, Pedro Sarmiento inspected the ships down to the keels and in minute detail, trying the pumps several times. One of them had been navigated by Pedro Sarmiento, and was well known to him as the soundest ship in the fleet.[4] In short, he found that the masters were right, and that these very ships were the safest in the fleet. Finding himself thwarted in this scheme, Diego Flores got people to tell the masters that if they would give evidence contrary to the truth, and say that the ships could not be navigated, they should receive rewards, to which they consented. On this Diego Flores was delighted. His accomplices published the news that

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[1] Her name was the *San Juan Bautista*, in which the Admiral Diego de la Ribera sailed from Spain. The Captain was his half brother, Alonso de las Alas.

[2] Commanded by Gregorio de las Alas.

[3] The *Santa Maria de Begoña*, commanded by Pedro de Aquino. She was afterwards sunk by the English.

[4] The *Begoña*. See page 251.

the ships were to return, all the married settlers and soldiers being put on shore. Many of the soldiers fled into the woods, and remaining there, they were eventually eaten by the cannibal Indians of the main land, who came in canoes to the island, and finding the fugitives weak and ill, they killed and devoured them.

Soon afterwards the friars mutinied, who were to go to the Strait, and some of them declared they would remain where they were. Pedro Sarmiento, knowing that their commissary, named Fray Amador, was in the woods with another friar named Martin de Torre Blanca, with little regard to their habit or the precepts of their order, or to the orders of your Majesty, went into the woods to them, accompanied only by another friar of the order and two of his servants. His object was to entreat them, for the love of God, to return to the ships and comply with the obligations and rules of their order. When Pedro Sarmiento came to the place where they were concealed, the commissary fled further into the woods, but the other friar was overtaken and induced to return. The commissary was called and exhorted, but he would not come until another day. Thus three or four friars remained on shore through the fault of Diego Flores. Afterwards they came back to the ships which returned for the settlers and soldiers.

Seeing that Francisco Gavres, who had been appointed Treasurer, and Herrera, who was to be Accountant at the settlement in the Strait, were afraid of the prospect and did not wish to continue the voyage, but spoke evil of it, Diego Flores induced them to leave the side of Pedro Sarmiento, their Governor, who had importuned your Majesty to grant them favours. They mutinied against their Governor, whom they were under obligations to serve in the name of your Majesty, and these, with the Commissary of the Friars, began to sow the seeds of insubordination among the people.

Diego Flores ended by leaving the ships and the settlers, and many soldiers with munitions out of the three ships at Santa Catalina, with Andres de Aquino, Accountant of the Fleet as commander, to whom he gave 5,000 reales with which to obtain food for the soldiers. But he sent away more than 300 of the best, which was one of the greatest blunders he was guilty of, by making it impossible to proceed with the fortification and settlement of the Strait in accordance with the orders of your Majesty. Moreover, he left the clothing and tents which your Majesty sent out for the settlement, in the three ships. When this came to the knowledge of Pedro Sarmiento he worked hard to get them out of the ships, trying to arrange with the masters of the ships that were going to the Straits to take them on board, but none of them would do so, because it was against the orders of Diego Flores. Seeing this disastrous state of affairs, Pedro Sarmiento reflected that they must be secured, otherwise the people who were landed in the Strait would be without clothes or covering. So he resolved to take them himself, and he did so with his own hands and with the help of his own people and servants. No one else would help, for fear of offending Diego Flores, for it was known that he detested the voyage and the enterprise of fortifying the Strait, and wished to thwart it. The clothing was at last received, the greater part being rotten through damp, and ruined.

Thus, with the enterprise mismanaged and thrown into disorder, leaving the three ships and the settlers and soldiers, Diego Flores departed from this island of Santa Catalina on the 13th of January, having allowed 13 days of light favourable winds to slip away, with which the fleet might almost have reached the Strait. He let these days pass, although he was requested to sail, because when the fair wind had passed a foul one was sure to blow and hinder the voyage.

In leaving this port the store ship ran on a sunken rock

and was lost. Diego Flores had gone out first, and when he saw this he would not stop nor send help, and thus she was lost with her crew, and the stores she was carrying for the settlement. But Andres de Espino and the purveyors got many pipes of wine out of her, and other property, which they embarked, took to San Vicente, and sold or wasted them, as will be related further on. In this ship were lost or stolen many pipes of wine which she carried for the settlers, and being stolen they were lost and never could be recovered.

The fleet sailed on, with fair weather as far as the 34th degree, near the river Plate, when it was discovered that there was a leak in the quarter gallery of the poop of the *San Cristoval*, on board of which was Pedro Sarmiento and Diego de la Ribera. For Diego Flores had embarked on a swifter and stauncher frigate,[1] so as to be in greater safety, and be able to take to flight more readily if the English should be encountered. That he might not be recognised he did not hoist the general's banner on board the frigate where he was embarked, nor did he show a light. But he ordered that the *San Cristoval* should carry the lanthorn, so as to excuse himself from the responsibility and danger of being in the leading ship in an engagement. This was judged to be very bad conduct by the rest of the fleet.

Having reached the above latitude, and discovered the leak, as well as the dangerous condition of the foremast, and this being known in the fleet, it was held for certain that Sarmiento would at last be alarmed, and would consent to return. With this object, and to please Don Alonso de Sotomayor, a council was summoned to come on board the frigate of Diego Flores, consisting of Pedro Sarmiento, Don Alonso Diego de la Ribera, Anton Pablos

[1] The *Santa Catalina*.

the pilot, and some others. Diego Flores announced the condition of the people, ships, and provisions, and the dangerous state of the *Capitana*, and first asked for the opinion of Anton Pablos. This pilot had already been corrupted by prayers and promises, although your Majesty had granted him great favours in honours and salaries, at the request of Pedro Sarmiento. He answered that under no circumstances should the *Capitana* proceed to the Strait in her present condition. At this all the pusillanimous officers rejoiced, supposing that this opinion would force Pedro Sarmiento to concur. But they were very much mistaken. When it came to his turn, he said to Diego Flores and the others who were present :—

"GENTLEMEN,—I never use words without feeling obliged to follow them by corresponding acts. The King our Lord trusted in me, and I distinctly promised my services. From this I cannot swerve. As regards the present enterprise, neither my reputation and condition, nor that of any man of honour, would permit me to turn my face backwards, so long as I am not forced to do so by violence, and even then it must be clearly shown that nothing more is possible. Therefore, so long as I have life and health, and a vessel under my feet, with the help of God I will not turn away from achieving this enterprise, in compliance with the will of his Majesty, until it is completed, or until my life's end, with my best ability. If I have to go alone, as I did when I came from Peru to discover the Strait, I should complete the voyage or end my life, without waiting until the winter was passed. I, therefore, say and require that we must go on and do that which his Majesty has ordered us to do. If the enemy should occupy the Strait before us, it will be a great injury to the service of our Lord God and to his Majesty, as well as ignominious to us and to our nation. Yet we know that the enemy is in these seas, for the Father, Fray Juan de

Ribadeneira, has told us that he has seen their ships, and that they are proceeding to occupy the Strait, or to pass it and commit robberies on the coasts of the South Sea, Maluco, and India, as Drake did. As for the leak on board the galleass it is being repaired, as well as the foremast, and by this time the repairs are completed. As the Lord-General does not wish to go in the *Capitana*, he need not fear what I do not fear, for his person is safe."

To this speech Diego Flores did not answer a word, but Don Alonso took him by the hand to give him confidence, and said that he himself would land at the river Plate, which he did. He then said to Pedro Sarmiento that they had not sufficient force, either as regards men or stores, to carry out the orders of his Majesty, and that, therefore, the best plan was to return. To this Pedro Sarmiento replied that he well knew the artifice by which ships, men, and stores had been left behind in order that this excuse might be made; but even with what was left, much might be done to deceive the enemy, and that a commencement is half the work: that in the Strait there was no one to disturb them, and that much could be done with what they still had, whereby his Majesty would be well served and the kingdoms of Spain and the Indies would rejoice: that his Majesty would take care to send help and to complete what had been commenced: and that he ought not to meddle with what did not concern him, being ignorant of matters touching navigation.

Don Alonso being thus silenced, he turned to Diego Flores saying that this was temerity. Diego Flores, not wishing to speak, merely said to Don Alonso that the Governor, Pedro Sarmiento, would do his duty if he could. Then Diego de la Ribera said:—"Pedro Sarmiento speaks well, and if the weather does not force us to turn back, we ought to proceed." Then Diego Flores said to Pedro Sarmiento that if it was his opinion that they should

return, Don Alonso would give his, signed with his name, before he left the frigate. Pedro Sarmiento replied that he would not be doing his duty if he allowed himself to be guided, in this matter, by Don Alonso, for he was not ordered to be so guided by his Majesty, and it was not the business of Don Alonso to treat of navigation, for if the opinion was erroneous, he would not be without fault ; and Don Alonso would not be responsible for it when he should give an account to his Majesty. Diego Flores then said to Pedro Sarmiento that he would have to maintain what he asserted ; and Pedro Sarmiento answered that if it should be well done he would help him, and if not each one for himself, and he would find at last that violence cannot be perpetual.

Finally, to the great disgust of Diego Flores, Don Alonso, the Chief Pilot, and the others who wanted to return, it was agreed to continue the voyage to the Strait and to carry out the orders of his Majesty. As soon as the debate was finished, Diego Flores having dinner ready for all, he entered his cabin to take his meal with only Don Alonso and Anton Pablos, who had been on his side. Pedro Sarmiento and Diego de la Ribera remained outside to write down what had been arranged : and after all that had happened, the Captain, Gregorio de las Alas, desiring his own interests which he had left in Brazil rather than the prosecution of the voyage, began to try and persuade Pedro Sarmiento, with blandishments, to agree to return. But Pedro Sarmiento repelled him with few words. He expressed his astonishment that gentlemen, who pretended to be honourable and loyal to your Majesty, should allow such disgraceful ideas to enter their minds: that he declined to discuss such proposals, nor to listen to them, and thus they parted in great anger.

Don Alonso de Sotomayor, fearing the passage of the Strait, and seeing that the fleet would have to go thither-

wards, and even knowing and saying that he was aware that it would not arrive, which was as much as to say that Diego Flores had given out that he would only go there for form's sake, but that he would take the first excuse of storm or wind to go back without entering, now requested Diego Flores to allow him to depart with the three ships which carried his soldiers, that he might land in the river Plate and thence proceed to Chile, whither he was going as Governor.[1] Diego Flores consented to this, as Don Alonso had supported him on the question of returning, which was not in conformity with the wishes and orders of your Majesty, and of your Royal Council of the Indies. Don Alonso was desired to proceed by way of the Strait in order that, if by chance an enemy should be encountered as was expected, he might help us and drive them out with the force under his command. It was, at this time, even more necessary, because it was known that the English were going to the Strait, where, as was given out by Diego Flores and those of his opinion, the enemy would be found, and where the passage must be defended or, if it had already been occupied, where they must be dislodged. In this Pedro Sarmiento was not consulted, and it was carried out before he could protest, moreover as the materials taken by Don Alonso had not been placed in his charge by your Majesty, he had no power to resist. But he obtained the condition that, before Don Alonso departed for the river Plate, he should give up the stores and people destined for the Strait that were embarked in the three ships, and so it was settled between Diego Flores and Don Alonso. When Pedro Sarmiento wanted to send boats for the stores, he was prevented, being told that Don Alonso and Diego Flores would get them out and send them

[1] Don Alonso's orders were to go to the Strait, assist in the work of fortification, and then proceed through the Strait to Chile.

to the *San Cristoval* without fail. This was not done, and Don Alonso sailed that day for the river Plate, which was thirty leagues distant, taking with him many munitions of powder, lead, iron, steel, cordage, pieces of artillery, blankets, cloth, many tools, friars, officers, and many other things intended for the fortification of the Strait. These were sold in the river Plate, or exchanged for horses and other things wanted by Don Alonso, which was a notable injury to your Majesty's service and a diminution of the royal treasury, it being most just that payments should be made in accordance with the prices ruling at the place where goods are sold. The injury done to the public service by increasing the difficulty of carrying out a work of such importance to Christianity and to the crown of your Majesty as the fortification and settlement of the Strait, must also be considered. This thwarting and contravening, with such persistency, of the commands and wishes of your Majesty is unworthy of faithful servants of their King. Much regret must be expressed here by those who were left to proceed on the voyage, for now there was no remedy.

Don Alonso having departed for the river Plate, we set out for the Strait on the next day, making sail with fine weather, to the great sorrow of Diego Flores and his accomplices. We only had two ships and three frigates[1] of your Majesty, out of the twenty-three that started from San Lucar the first time. We navigated as far as the mouth of the Strait with very fine weather and fair winds. Throughout the voyage, although Pedro Sarmiento saluted Diego Flores, the latter never returned the salute. Pedro Sarmiento laughed at this as childish petulance, not caring so long as he attended to the wishes of your Majesty.

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[1] The *San Cristoval*, the *Trinidad*, *Maria*, *Santa Catalina*, and *Magdalena*.

We came to the mouth of the Strait in the beginning of January, and, commencing to enter, the ebb tide came with some wind, as is usual, and the current carried the ships out again. The wind fell, and when the tide turned we began to enter again. The same thing occurred again, and it was proposed to anchor under shelter of Cape Virgins, where the *San Cristoval* and the other vessels had anchored the day before. But Diego Flores would not do this. His determination was not to enter the Strait. So, without consulting either with the pilots or with Pedro Sarmiento, he fled, and the other ships followed him on a N.E. and E.N.E. course.

Pedro Sarmiento made all sail to come up with Diego Flores that he might detain him, for the wind had gone down, and he now knew by experience that when the south wind fell the N.E. breezes began, which would not be later than the next day, the time for returning to the Strait and getting under the shelter of the land, where there was security from side winds. Diego Flores replied to this, "I am going to Brazil. He who pleases can follow me. I shall not remain here." Pedro Sarmiento, seeing that he was urging on his flight, cried out, "Señor Diego Flores, your worship is well aware of the fault that is committed by you, being able to return to the Strait, as you are able. For there can be no excuse where there is no obstacle, and there is no pardon when we do not do our best. Dense ignorance is worth nothing, and he cannot merit the palm who shuns the fight. Remember that in Spain little is made of this navigation, and our discoveries are not considered. Your worship has not even seen a flower in the sea, nor passed into the South Sea; whither it may seem impossible to go. God helps the weak and resolute, when we make discoveries and pass on with His grace, to whom be many thanks. Some arrive here in one small vessel to the honour and glory of our Lord God, not being more

immortal than your worship, for the more of a knight, the greater the obligation to show constancy in an arduous service."

To this Diego Flores gave no other answer than to make more sail and take flight for Brazil. After a short interval, speaking with Anton Pablos, he asked him how it appeared to him. The pilot replied that it would appear to him as it appeared to his worship. Presently he asked whether it would appear right to his worship to return to the Strait, on which Diego Flores answered by making more sail, and said, "Follow me to Brazil, for thither I go"; which all willingly did.

Seeing this resolution, Pedro Sarmiento, in a very loud voice, which was heard by Diego Flores and the whole fleet, required of Diego Flores in due form, in the name of his Majesty, that he should remain, for now there was neither contrary wind nor sea, and they could return to the Strait, the entrance to which was in sight, while the little sparrows and butterflies flew from the land to the ships. He protested against the mischiefs and injuries that would arise from giving up the service, both to the royal crown and treasury, and to the people of the fleet, of which notice would be given to his Majesty, adding many other things. He requested the royal notary, Pedro de Rada, to give his testimony as witness; but he, being of the faction of Diego Flores, said that he did not wish to do so. Diego Flores, without answering a word, put on press of sail and pursued his course to Brazil, proceeding without any storm, but with a light wind from E.N.E. and a smooth sea, so that he could easily have returned to the Strait. Presently a breeze sprang up which obliged the ships to work against it, though they could comfortably have run before it to the Strait, and have entered and found a perfectly secure port, until there was another south wind. It fell out that while Pedro Sarmiento was taking this course with Diego Flores,

there rose against him the Admiral Diego de la Ribera, the Serjeant-Major Loaisa, the treasurer and royal notary Rada, and the pilot Anton Pablos. These officers mutinied against Pedro Sarmiento, saying that they did not want to return to the Strait, but to follow Diego Flores, who was their Captain-General. When Pedro Sarmiento wished to arouse in them some zeal for the service of his Majesty, they turned against him, and Diego de la Ribera said in a loud voice :—" If God put spirit into your worship, he did not put it into my word, and even Pedro Sarmiento would be ashamed of his shame." Pedro Sarmiento answered that all had a good spirit if the will was ready, and that was not the cause ; for that he was a seaman and had been bred to the sea. Diego de Ribera replied that he did not wish to do it, to which Pedro Sarmiento contested that some day his Majesty would know who had served him. Diego de la Ribera answered, " Do not give anything that the Queen may know." This was a thing unworthy of a man of honour, and of one who had previously shown some constancy. They continued to shape a course to Brazil, and after reaching the 38th degree the breeze again became very favourable for a return to the Strait. Not only did they not want to take advantage of it, but they shortened sail and hove to, waiting until the breeze should blow itself out and the wind again begin to blow from the south. Imagining that the *San Cristoval*, with Pedro Sarmiento, and the frigate of Captain Avendaño,[1] might return to the Strait with the wind N.E., Diego Flores sent orders that they should not make sail until he did so. The ship *Maria*, on board of which was his son-in-law, Alvaro del Busto, had dropped astern until she was out of sight, two days before. But he would not wait for her, being so intent on his flight that he would not have cared if all the world had

[1] The *Magdalena*.

been lost. All that night we were hove to, and the next afternoon it was reported to Diego Flores that the frigate was taking in a little water. Upon this, without waiting even to put on his hat, he left that frigate and had himself taken on board another, which was a better sailer.[1] Next morning neither Diego Flores, nor the other frigate in which he had been before,[2] were in sight. On making enquiries, the sailors and pilots, who had kept watch during the night, reported that they had seen a light to N.W., and in that quarter the frigates should be followed. This was done by the *San Cristoval* and the frigate of Avendaño,[3] without finding them until they reached the port of San Vicente, where they arrived in April, together with the ship *Maria*, which by this time had joined them. They did not find Diego Flores in the port of San Vicente, and it was said that she had been lost through ignorance of navigation, having no fear of a tempest from not having known the signs.

Arrived in this port of San Vicente, we found the three ships in it, which had been left at Santa Catalina to proceed to Rio Janeiro; the *Begoña* being at the bottom, with half her masts above water.[4] We were informed that when our three ships arrived, they found two English ships inside the port, being two of the three which had robbed the friar, as already stated. The other was a pinnace which was lost between the island of Lobos and the main land at the mouth of the river Plate, as Pedro Sarmiento heard in the following year. The crew escaped in a small boat and went to the natives, who detained them. After a time the captain, who was named John Drake, a native of Plymouth, the pilot named William,[5] and another man escaped in a

[1] The *Trinidad.* [2] The *Santa Catalina.* [3] The *Magdalena.*
[4] The two others were the *San Juan Bautista* and *Concepcion.*
[5] William Markham. He was Master of the *Elizabeth* (Captain Winter) in Sir Francis Drake's voyage of circumnavigation.

canoe and went up the river Plate to the city of Buenos Ayres, 60 leagues from the sea, and thence they were sent up country to the Judges of the Audience of Peru. Returning to what happened in the port of San Vicente between our ships and those of the enemy, our ships, on entering, found that the English were on shore getting water. Our ships anchored at a distance from the English. The enemy, who at first had given themselves up for lost, seeing that we kept at a distance, went on board and got ready their cannons for the battle, that our people might not come upon them, for at first their ships were almost without hands. Afterwards the *Begoña*, whose captain was Rodrigo de Rada, desiring to board, came up until she was alongside fighting with the English, while our other two ships did not move. The English in their ship, working their pieces of artillery, killed some of the crew of the *Begoña*, and with the lower deck guns they sank her and sent her to the bottom, the crew escaping to the shore in boats. The boatswain, who was an Aragonese, went to the English and remained with them. It is suspected that he returned to the Strait in 1586, with the corsair, Thomas Cavendish,[1] of whose voyage Pedro Sarmiento sent tidings to your Majesty from England, and also from France.

Next morning the two English and the two remaining Spanish ships began to cannonade each other, and it was believed the English admiral received some injury. For the English finally left this port, and went to sea in the direction of the burnt island, which is 8 leagues distant to the S.S.W. On another day only one was sighted.[2]

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[1] "Telariscandi."

[2] William Hawkins, who was on board the *Leicester* with Captain Fenton, relates that he anchored at St. Vincent on the 20th of January 1583. On the 23rd three Spanish ships arrived, of 600, 500, 400 tons respectively, with 670 men in the three ships. The fight began at about ten o'clock at night, and continued until the next day at noon.

The rest that happened in this action will have been reported by those who saw it. I, being absent on the voyage to the Strait, was not there, although I made enquiries respecting the circumstances when I arrived, and sent the result to your Majesty in a special report on the whole affair, by the hand of Don Juan de Pazos, at the time when Diego Flores returned to Spain.

I know not whether the faults committed in this port were concealed, including what the writer of this account saw and heard. This is that, after what happened regarding the English enemy, the hostile ships went to the island of Santo Amaro[1] from this port to refit, and were there more than eight days. During that time our two ships, being superior in size and better manned and armed, not only did not go out against the enemy, but went two leagues up the river, as far as the town of Santos, where they began to trade in sugar and hides, selling in exchange the wines, iron, and tools on board, being the things saved from the store-ship that was lost at Santa Catalina. These stores consisted partly of the property of your Majesty, and partly of the private property of Pedro Sarmiento, but all were intended for the settlements in the Strait.

More especially Andres de Aquino, as chief of these ships and accountant, sold in the town the cloths and blankets intended for the Strait, as he confessed to Pedro Sarmiento and Diego de la Ribera. Being asked why he acted thus, he answered that it was to get food for the people. But this was not necessary, because he had

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He continues—"their vice-admiral we did sink. There were of our men slain in both ships six or eight, and more than twenty hurt. They had of theirs slain above a hundred, and many wounded. This we understood at Spirito Santo (Santos) of the Portingales, when we watered there." Leaving St. Vincent the English fleet anchored at Spirito Santo on the 22nd of February, departing on the 5th of March. The *Leicester* reached Kinsale on June 14th, 1583.

[1] Off Santos.

received 5,000 *reales* for purchasing provisions. God will judge his intentions; but if he sold the stores for this purpose he never gave a ration to the people after he arrived, telling them they could go where they liked, but that he would not give them a mouthful of food. When Pedro Sarmiento again asked him why he had behaved in this way, his answer was that he was ordered to do so by Diego Flores. Thus it was that Pedro Sarmiento found the men and women half dead with hunger, miserable, nearly naked, and bare-footed. Some had lost their clothes in the ship that went to the bottom, others had given clothing to the Portuguese in the town, in exchange for food to support themselves. It was a very great misfortune, and it was enough to break a man's heart to see them. Pedro Sarmiento, with the favour of God, did all he could to help them. Some had gone to other small towns to ask for food, for the love of God, and he provided them with a little nourishment, giving some clothes to the most naked; as well from the stores of your Majesty as from his own property, to cover their miserable bodies. He maintained them and took them on board again, giving them rations, and attending to the sick. He intended to take them to Rio Janeiro, and then to proceed to the Strait with them, God willing.

I could not then clothe them all, because, on returning from the voyage to the Strait, Diego de la Ribera took the men's clothes sent out for the settlement, and divided them among the soldiers of the galleass without any urgent necessity, and without the consent of Pedro Sarmiento, although he was present while Ribera was writing down to whom each thing should be given. The rest of the hose, shoes, caps, and other things were stolen, and some lost on board the *Arriola* and other ships. All these effectual means did Diego Flores adopt, to cause the ruin of the expedition.

The impiety of Diego Flores as regarded the sick, the poor, and indeed the people generally, was remarkable. Sometimes he said, in so many words, that so long as he escaped he did not care what happened to the rest. Once, when there was scarcity of water on board the galleass, he said to the dispenser in a loud voice, "Take care what you are doing; there must be no reduction in my share." From that time he always had a large jar of water in his cabin, which he kept locked with a key, and would not give a drink of water even to a sick man. Once, unknown to him, a boy took a small jug of water out of his cabin for his son-in-law, who was sick and suffering from thirst. But Diego Flores caught the boy outside the door, took the water from him and poured it back into the jar, locked it up, and put the key in his pocket. He did the same with some almonds and other medical comforts, and would not give away a single one, although there were many sick on board, saying that he should keep them for himself. In the end he took them back with him, when he returned to Spain, and they became mouldy. Although these are trifles, they are things to be remarked in one who is placed in charge of a number of men.

Returning to what happened in the port of San Vicente, as soon as the English departed, Andres de Aquino, at the request of the Portuguese, began to construct a sort of bastion on a rock at the entrance of the river of this port, to defend the entrance in the event of the enemy returning. He put some pieces of artillery on it and manned it with some arquebusiers. In this way many tools were destroyed which were intended for the Strait. While this work was in progress the other captains who came with him were in the ports of San Vicente and Santos, trading and selling the wine at the public taverns and buying sugar and hides to take to Spain, all being done with the most shameless ignominy and baseness that can be imagined. Even the

Portuguese, who gained by it, could not help mocking and laughing at the proceedings. Following the example of their superiors, the masters and notaries, and some soldiers, did the same.

When Pedro Sarmiento asked Andres de Aquino why he sold the stores if he was supplied with money wherewith to buy provisions, he replied that he knew it was not necessary, but as he knew for certain that Diego Flores never intended to go into the Strait, even if he was able, there was no need to preserve the stores, and that he would give an account to Diego Flores. From this it may be gathered that Diego Flores and Aquino discussed the matter with their accomplices, and that the departure from Santa Catalina was only intended as a form to be gone through because Pedro Sarmiento insisted upon proceeding with the expedition ; but with the intention of turning back as soon as there was the slightest excuse. In fact, he turned back without any excuse.

The Captains Alonso de las Alas[1] and Estevan de las Alas,[2] and many others, having loaded their ships with sugar and hides to take to Spain for sale, as they might have carried palms of victory and weapons dyed in the blood of their enemies, were very joyful and contented. Their purses, which came out empty, went back closed and full. They determined to sail for Rio de Janeiro, whence news had come that Don Diego de Alcega had arrived with four ships which your Majesty had sent, laden with all kinds of provisions and stores, like a monarch and lord and more than father to all, having the feelings of a Saint. This showed your Majesty's great desire for the efficiency and success of this enterprise, which was so necessary for all Christians and for the Catholic Church, as well as for the

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[1] Captain of the *Almiranta San Juan Bautista.*

[2] Captain of the *San Estevan de Soroa.*

prosperity of your Majesty's royal crown, which may Almighty God preserve for many years, and afterwards grant that heaven which your holy works on earth have merited. I say that these captains were very joyful, considering that they would also enrich themselves with another good lump of money from the ships that would be delivered to them, and from other things arising from the new arrival. It is certain that Mercury and Mars cannot be made very well to agree: trading and stealing are not compatible with obtaining honour in the career of arms and showing constancy in the service of a prince. One exalts the mind as much as the other debases it by traffic, makes it fall into many faults, and loses personal respect as well as patriotism and loyalty. For in place of contending with the enemies of God and of their King, they despoil their own King and country of wealth, credit, and honour. May God grant a remedy who is able to do so. I confess myself to be more evil than the evil; but not as regards these kind of faults, for which I give glory, honour, and grace to God. I will not deceive, nor do I wish, nor ought I, nor can I maintain that my condition is faultless, though if I am evil it is with those men who err from love of their King, which, to me, is a crown of triumph; and all good friends of your Majesty will judge me as I ought to be judged, and encourage me to persevere, which, with the grace of God, I will do to the utmost of my power. Let him complain who will complain, so long as I do my duty in the service of God and of my King. When, for my sins, it shall not be granted that this shall be recognised in me, I shall remain so before God. And I shall count myself well rewarded in this life, by being able to reflect that I have served faithfully, loyally and efficiently my King and Lord, my natural monarch, so Christian, liberal and gracious. Thus I will serve the crown though I should be *in puribus*, and those who have

dishonestly enriched themselves should deride me. For I will ever be *unus et idem* seeking God.

Having been some days in this port, taking in wood and water, and some provisions, and having saved some pieces of artillery from the wreck of the *Begoña*, leaving some men to defend the little fort, unnecessarily, we sailed in order to shape a course for Rio de Janeiro. As we were going out Diego Flores and the other frigate arrived, fifteen days after us. We found that, through ignorance of navigation, they had been thus delayed, for the weather had been the same for all, while the frigates were better sailers than the *Capitana* and the other vessels. But as a knowledge of navigation was wanting as well as the *Capitana* which showed them the way, they took a thousand confused courses and almost despaired of being able to reach Brazil. It seems as if God desired to show them that what they had got, after having turned away from their duty, they were not to see concluded. According to what they themselves said, they were for making for the land of the river Plate to save their lives; where they would have been captured and eaten by Guarani or Guarayo cannibals. But God, who does not desire the death of a sinner, but rather that he should be converted and live, had pity on them and brought them to this port. Instead of acknowledging God's mercy and giving thanks to Him, Diego Flores began to boast and play the lion on shore, not having done so at sea where it was more necessary. He seized on the Chief Pilot, and quarrelled with the Admiral, declaring they had deserted him, when he had left them because he thought the *Capitana* would be lost. He did not speak to Pedro Sarmiento, but presently he began to persecute and injure the poor settlers, turning them out of the ships and stopping their rations, saying they might go where they liked, that they were of no use any more than the undertaking they were engaged for. This was done with great

cruelty, to the grief of those who saw them go away weeping, disconsolate, and helpless. Pedro Sarmiento, not being able to resist the power of the general, held his peace, seeing that words would not avail. He went to the town of Santos to avoid scandal, where he divided the settlers among the houses of the inhabitants of the town, consoling them and promising to return for them or to send from Rio de Janeiro, as he afterwards did. With this some were comforted and others were allowed to embark, and were provided with what was necessary.

Pedro Sarmiento suffered these and other vexations and annoyances, for in the instructions of your Majesty it is said that he who suffers most serves best. This so increased the insolence of Diego Flores that it can hardly be credited. The more humility was shown, the more he was puffed up with pride, and he said things that were unworthy to hear. Among others there was one instance that may be mentioned. Diego Flores had treated one of the settlers harshly without any cause. He was a gallant soldier and a good servant of your Majesty in Flanders, Italy, and the Indies, and had come with Sarmiento from Peru by the Strait. When Pedro Sarmiento requested Diego Flores to be more moderate and not to set himself against the settlers, he replied with intolerable insolence—"Be off! Be off to the Strait." Pedro Sarmiento answered, "I shall go, with many thanks to God and to his Majesty." To this Diego Flores said—"And have many thanks to me!" almost ignoring God and the King, and implying that there he would have his way without regard to God or your Majesty, as he did. Presently he began to form cabals with the pusillanimous traders and enemies of the enterprise, against Pedro Sarmiento, saying that it was impossible that it could be done, and that Pedro Sarmiento was desperate, and that if he had known what that navigation was, although his Majesty had offered all he possessed, he

would not have taken charge of it. It is certain that, on the passage from the Strait this time, Diego de la Ribera said to me that it is a disgrace to see the English thieves pass the Strait with ease, while to the vassals of his Majesty, who are so accustomed to encounter all dangers by sea and land, it appears impossible. In these times your Majesty ought to feel this fault, for it is not well to set aside the good and brave vassals of your Majesty who are numerous, for the sake of some inconstant ones who always exist: for God will be served when the good are allowed to repair the faults of those who are not such.

In this state of confusion Diego Flores and the other ships left San Vicente for Rio Janeiro with as much parade as if it was a triumph after the victories of Scipio. At a distance of twelve leagues is the island of Sebastian close to the shore and forming a narrow channel with a strong current. Our direct and proper course was outside, and we might easily have reached Rio that night. But Diego Flores, who had before been so anxious to keep at a distance from the land, must needs, without any reason, enter a channel with a current like a mill race. Taking this route, without any precaution, a gust of wind came down from the island, which is not unusual. An experienced pilot, who was with him, then advised him not to take that route which was dangerous, but he had his own way, and a squall took the sails. All the ships were then in danger; and the galleass made a plunge nearly under water, insomuch that Diego Flores was afraid for his life. The precaution he took was to clasp his hands and exclaim:—"Here! here! we are going to perish." The other ships, cutting cables and taking proper steps, were safe, the squall quickly passing and leaving Diego Flores and his traders so terrified that they did not soon come round. At last they entered the channel, and the ship *Concepcion*, which was large and heavy, in anchoring

had her cable parted by the furious current. Before she could let go another anchor the ship went broadside towards the land. It being now dark, all gave themselves up for lost, or at least the ship, for the crew could have been saved. They fired off two pieces of artillery, that the boats of the other ships might come to their assistance. Although the ships were near, no boats came during more than two hours. The master, Estevan Cortados, saw the threatened loss of the ship, and Pedro Sarmiento, who was on board, perceiving that she only touched on one side, and that the shore was steep, jumped on to the land. Telling those who were weeping to hold their tongues, he made them lay out an anchor and heave round on the capstan like fury. The cable parted, and presently they bent another, and hove round on the capstan again. It pleased the Lord that the ship was got off without injury, thanks to Him. Then a boat arrived without even an anchor or cable, and not having any means of anchoring, Pedro Sarmiento undertook to take the ship out, although it was night. He navigated her clear of the channel and the current, and took her into the open sea. In the morning the other ships weighed their anchors, but such were the currents, eddies, and squalls between the small islets and the island of San Sebastian that we were detained, in a distance of half a league, for two or three days.

Finally emerging from these obstacles to progress, the fleet arrived at Rio de Janeiro in the beginning of May, where we found Don Diego de Alcega[1] with the four provision ships which your Majesty, moved by pity, had sent us with a most bounteous hand. They were full of excellent victuals, biscuits, bacon, beans, wine, and many other excellent and very wholesome things supplied by a great monarch who is a father to all. For this bounty all

[1] Mariana calls him Diego de Abreu (vol. x, p. 90).

offered up thanks, and the good men shed tears of joy; while the covetous laughed at the thought that they might replenish some corners of their purses, which still seemed to them to need filling.

Only Diego Flores was dissatisfied, and instead of giving a welcome to Don Diego de Alcega, he showed him such a sour discontented countenance that Don Diego, from annoyance, avoided his company after having given him an account of what he had brought, and how he had honourably carried out his instructions. He also offered his person and property for the prosecution of the return to the Strait. He further proposed that the captains, Don Juan de Pazos, my nephew, and Francisco Morejon, should help with their people who were very carefully selected and well disciplined. To all which Diego Flores showed no approval, and instead of offering any thanks he disdained and depreciated the proposals, so that every one was disgusted and did not wish to converse with him further, nor to visit or see him.

Seeing what your Majesty had sent out to order us to perform by royal letters, as well as by the mouth of Don Diego de Alcega, who gave the packet to Diego Flores, and a letter to Pedro Sarmiento in which he was advised of the news from France that a pirate was fitting out for a voyage to the Strait, and that he should do all in his power, acting with Diego Flores and Don Alonso de Sotomayor, Pedro Sarmiento made a communication to Diego Flores. He offered his person and abilities with joyful and sincere good will, not regarding former differences, in view of obeying the fresh commands of his Majesty. Diego Flores replied that this was not necessary, as if he desired to say that he wanted to return to Spain, and that he would not, and was not obliged to do what your Majesty desired. But Pedro Sarmiento, with the favour of our Lord God, persevering in his zeal, and confirmed in it by

the fresh notice of your Majesty, so increased in constancy that his heart could scarcely fit in his body. Consequently, although Diego Flores landed in wedding clothes as in triumph, Pedro Sarmiento remained on board in the plain dress of a sailor, with the resolution not to go to sea except with a course in the direction of the Strait, in conformity with the orders and wish of your Majesty.

III.

Desertion of Diego Flores.

DIEGO FLORES saw the letter of your Majesty, in which reference was made to the favours your Majesty had granted, in which he was incited to the prosecution of the enterprise, and in which the necessity for it was impressed upon him. He was told of the great service to his Majesty that would be secured by doing this work, in words which would have moved even an enemy, and would have put courage into a coward, how much more into a knight who had been ennobled and enriched by the royal hand of your Majesty. But all was not sufficient to make him do his duty, or to undertake that which every well-born man would have looked upon as great good fortune to be entrusted with; as well as an honour and a felicity to be given the chance of risking a thousand lives, one after the other, to serve your Majesty. All this was not enough to move his torpid and shameless will. He was silent with those who spoke of the enterprise, but he was ready to eat and to dance with those who advised him to return. He was mute on the subject of fighting at sea, but he became a talker on shore. His final answer respecting your Majesty's letter was that he did not want to go to the Strait, but to return to Spain, making an excuse that he wanted to turn the five lame Frenchmen out of Paraiba.

Your Majesty ordered a letter which Bernardino de Mendoza had written to your Majesty from England to be shown to Pedro Sarmiento, respecting the intentions of Francis Drake when he entered the Strait; but Diego Flores would not show it, saying plainly that he did not wish to show it, and that it was not necessary.

Your Majesty remarked that it was reported, in the Royal Council of the Indies, that letters of Pedro Sarmiento from Cape Verde had not been received, though the letters of Diego Flores and others had come to hand. It was suggested that the cause was some difference between Diego Flores and Pedro Sarmiento, and that this ought not to be, because it was prejudicial to the service, almost hinting that the letters of Pedro Sarmiento must have been hidden by Diego Flores, as was the case, and desiring that there should be no differences nor disputes. From the clerk who saw this affair, Diego Flores took an oath and ordered that he should say nothing to Pedro Sarmiento until they had left the port, whence he understood that the packet which Pedro Sarmiento wrote to your Majesty, and to your Royal Council of the Indies, had been left behind, which was of much importance. If by chance it should ever reach the hands of your Majesty it will show how Santiago may be defended, for it contains many secrets touching the lay of the land, and the means of fortifying and defending the beach, and other things very much to the liking of your Majesty, and for the benefit of the royal estate.

Pedro Sarmiento remained on board, waiting for Diego Flores to change his views owing to the letter of your Majesty, for there were now provisions, ships, men, and munitions to enable him to persevere, with a little trouble and constancy. The Admiral, Don Diego de la Ribera, came on board to visit him, and said that Diego Flores was resolved to return to Spain, making the excuse that he was going to turn out the Frenchmen who had joined the negroes at Paraiba. This was no part of his duty, and contrary to his orders. Besides, the settlers of Pernambuco were able to cope with the few Frenchmen who remained, as they eventually did : while his departure would cause great mischief throughout Peru and in the Strait, the harm that

was caused being irremediable. Pedro Sarmiento said that he wished to speak again with Diego Flores, and ask him whether his Majesty had ordered him to return, for if not he was unable to believe that one who had received so many royal favours as Diego Flores could have so little gratitude and loyalty, nor how he could dare to appear in the royal presence after having turned his face from carrying out the wishes of your Majesty. He could not, therefore, believe but that Diego Flores must have secret orders to return, and if this was so, he desired to know whether his Majesty intended him to return or to remain, because he was, as he is, so attached to the service of your Majesty that nothing could possibly make him wish to act contrary to the royal pleasure: even exerting himself beyond his powers, as he had always done and intended to do in every way until his life's end, or until the end of many lives if God had given them. Diego Flores had said, however, that your Majesty had not ordered him to return, but rather to prosecute the enterprise more zealously than ever; nevertheless, he was resolved to return, contrary to your Majesty's orders. Pedro Sarmiento urged Diego de la Ribera to counsel Diego Flores to comply with his obligation and not to act so ignominiously against his honour, for he might take it as very certain that such conduct would affect his honour and quiet in Spain, as well in the opinion of your Majesty as of all noble and honourable men. Diego de la Ribera answered that it would be preaching in the desert, that he had put all such things into the bag behind,[1] and that he would go before the wind to Spain. He added that Pedro Sarmiento would not be moved, that they were both of one mind, and that they would complete the enterprise together.

On hearing this Pedro Sarmiento answered:—"How

[1] "Alforja trasera."

can this be if Diego Flores returns to Spain. His Majesty ordered me to accompany and attend upon Diego Flores to give him help and advice in the undertaking, as I have done, and am ready to do with the help of God to the best of my abilities. In this I will not fail until my death, for I know that his Majesty puts his trust in me, and I cannot forfeit his confidence, for neither my birth nor my position would suffer me to do otherwise. In conformity with the order of your Majesty I have complied with my orders which I received in writing, and which are to accompany him wherever he may go. If I should be asked why I returned, the reply is clear and brief. I have only to say that I have strictly obeyed orders throughout, and now I have done the same in coming with my captain under whose orders I am placed, and to whom I owe obedience in all things. As it is not for well born gentlemen to use prevaricating or misleading words with any one, how much less with princes, I have to explain the reason as I see and know it, which is the will of my King and natural Lord, whom, apart from God's commands, I love far more than myself, as your Majesty is my witness. For your Majesty has seen me set out to perform your will an infinite number of times, in a way that I would not work for myself, nor for anything else in the world. Now Diego Flores, and so many others, have fallen away, but I, with the help of God, though weaker than all the rest, have more zeal than ever, and each hour I feel my will more ready and my determination more firm to persevere until this undertaking is completed. The limbs will take example when the head changes, and all will have a good excuse by saying my leader turned his face away, and I did my duty in following him; but the same men will condemn their captain, seeing his inconstancy. Yet if Diego Flores should want to go without orders from your Majesty, I will not do so until I have done all that I possibly can, and

more, towards carrying out the service in compliance with the royal will."

After this, Diego de la Ribera left the ship, and gave an account of what had been said to Diego Flores, who would not even then hold communication with Pedro Sarmiento, fearing that he would persuade him to go. Instead, he obliged Pedro Sarmiento to land almost with violence, together with the munitions for the Strait which your Majesty had sent, which Pedro Sarmiento had secured in San Vicente, turning them all out on the beach. Pedro Sarmiento, although in conformity with general usage he might have left them to perish, because Diego Flores was responsible for them, yet, moved by sorrow at seeing such disorder and waste, and neglect of duty, he collected and guarded them as if they had been precious brocades instead of a few bales of cloth and canvas. As soon as Pedro Sarmiento had landed, which was what Diego Flores wanted, he published his intention of proceeding to Spain, touching at Bahia on the way. He did this without any communication with Pedro Sarmiento, who, speaking with Don Diego de Alcega, requested him to speak to Diego Flores and remove the phantasm from his brain. Don Diego made the attempt, and even proposed to go with Pedro Sarmiento to the Strait, offering 8,000 ducats if there was want of money, which he and his friends could produce. Diego Flores quarrelled with him and refused to discuss it, as if it had been an insult, and this was well known throughout the fleet.

On this, Diego de la Ribera came to tell Pedro Sarmiento that, if he intended to remain, he would stay also with five vessels, some stores and provisions, and people to proceed with the settlement of the Strait. The fortifications, he thought, could not be undertaken. Pedro Sarmiento replied that he must consider well what he did, because what he undertook must be carried out. He said that the forts

must not be given up, because they were intended by his Majesty to close the passage. Although the settlement was of great importance to supply the forts and to keep the peace and convert the natives, yet the main object had been and must be to prevent the passage by the enemies of God and of your Majesty ; although Diego Flores had not complied with the orders to fortify the Strait in obedience to the will of your Majesty.

He made this reply, and as Diego de la Ribera said no more, Pedro Sarmiento, in order further to try and have the royal commands obeyed, went to see Diego Flores at his lodging. Having saluted him apart, and the two being alone, Sarmiento once more strove to induce him to remain and obey his orders, speaking in a friendly way. He gave him many reasons why he ought to carry out his instructions. The reply he gave was that Pedro Sarmiento ought not to say such things, that he knew what was right, that he was not bound to give an account of the course he took, and that he would go, and would not say more on the subject.

On hearing this precious answer, Pedro Sarmiento made a full demand in a loud voice and also in writing before witnesses and a royal notary ; the purport of which was, couched in respectful language, that Diego Flores ought not to abandon nor to discourage the enterprise nor to return to Spain before he had carried out your Majesty's orders in the Strait, explaining the benefits from doing the work, and the evil results of abandoning it and returning to Spain, also pointing out the uselessness of going to Bahia, as he would not be able to go to Paraiba that year, while he could easily sail to the Strait, and do anything that was necessary in Brazil on his return ; moreover, to go to the Strait was his duty, and the other business was only an excuse for not complying with his obligations.

It was further urged that if he went away, all the best

and most enterprising men in the expedition, and even those who wished to do their duty, would be disheartened and would wish to go with him, under colour of following their leader, while it would be impossible for those who remained to do the work, as they would be poor, bare footed, and naked.

Having made this protest, Pedro Sarmiento placed it in the hands of Diego Flores. In answer to it, Diego Flores gave a banquet to the notary, Pedro de Rada, who was his lawyer, and to his trading accomplices. He delayed two days in making a written answer, and he did not dare to have it delivered to Pedro Sarmiento until he had embarked. After he had gone on board he sent it. In substance it was to the effect that it was not the duty of Diego Flores to give an account of his proceedings to Pedro Sarmiento, that he knew what it was proper to do, and would give an account to your Majesty ; which seemed almost equivalent to saying that he had orders from your Majesty to return to Spain.

When Diego Flores was ready to sail, the Captain Cubierta arrived at Rio de Janeiro from the river Plate, with his ship cut down to the second deck. This was one of three ships which took Don Alonso de Sotomayor and his people. He brought the news that the other two ships had been lost, and that Don Alonso had sold the stores intended for the Strait, in exchange for horses and provisions. This ship brought some pieces of artillery belonging to the others, and presently we began to put them to rights and make them as good as new for service in the expedition, for which purpose they were afterwards used.

It must here be observed that Diego Flores tried to find an excuse for his conduct in a letter of Don Bernardino de Mendoza which was sent out by your Majesty, but the simplest person in the world would see that it was no defence and only material for laughter. It was that Don

Bernardino de Mendoza,[1] your Majesty's ambassador in England, had collected some particulars from men who had been with Drake in the Strait. He said that they had given him to understand that Drake had not come out by the same channel that he entered; but that he had entered by the great mouth in 52° 30′ S. and gone out by that of San Julian, there being many openings and channels forming islands. On this Pedro Sarmiento replied to your Majesty, refuting this story with clear proofs and from his own experience and that of his companions with the greatest possible diligence, and afterwards he did more, as will appear in its place. Four years afterwards, discussing this point in Paris with the same Don Bernardino, he made this reply to Pedro Sarmiento. He said that he had not understood, and he believed that the information he obtained was misleading. It is not to be wondered at that piratical thieves should always vary their statements, because they use no judgment in what they do, and cannot keep to the same story afterwards. All this is satisfactorily explained in the report I sent with the captain, Don Juan de Pazos from Rio de Janeiro, in the year 1583, when Diego Flores returned. Diego Flores tried to get hold of the report at Bahia, through third persons, that his proceedings might be unknown. But Don Juan de Pazos left it in charge of the Bishop of Brazil, that it might not be stolen from him by his shipmates who were accomplices of Diego Flores. One thing alone suffices for an answer to the

[1] Don Bernardino de Mendoza was a son of Don Alonso de Mendoza, Conde de Coruña, by a niece of the great Cardinal Cisneros. He came to England as Ambassador in 1578, with very conciliatory instructions. When Drake returned in 1580, Mendoza demanded a restoration of his plunder. Elizabeth was determined not to give it up; and other differences arose. In 1585 Mendoza was ordered to leave England, and in the same year became ambassador at Paris. He either misunderstood his informants about Drake's track in the Straits of Magellan, or was deceived by them.

statement in the letter of Don Bernardino. It is that *Francis Drake, after he entered the Strait and passed out into the South Sea, never returned to it.*[1] *For he went to Maluco and by the usual route of the Cape of Good Hope, by which the ships of Portugal return from India.* This being the case it cannot be said he returned by that or any other mouth of the Strait. Another fact is equally conclusive, which is that the port of San Julian is a bay without any channel, but only a little river of sweet water and two islands in the middle. Wintering there until August, Drake made sail again into the North Sea and went to the entrance by the Cape of Virgins, to which he gave the name of "Good Success",[2] in the same North Sea. Hence he cannot either have entered or gone out by San Julian. For both mouths, both that which he entered by the Cape of Virgins, and that by which he went out into South Sea by the Cape Deseado, and the port which I called the Bay of Mercy, and Drake the Bay of Safety, are in 52° 30′ S. : while the Port of San Julian is in 43° S.

Further, Magellan,[3] Loaisa,[4] and Simon de Alcazaba,[5] at

[1] But Captain Winter, in the *Elizabeth*, returned home by the Strait.

[2] This name is not given in the narratives of Drake's voyage. Edward Cliffe, who wrote the narrative of Captain Winter's voyage in the *Elizabeth*, called it "Cape Victoria".

[3] From April to August 1520. It was at Port San Julian that Magellan suppressed a mutiny, by assassinating one captain, quartering the bodies of other mutineers, and abandoning others on the beach.

[4] Garcia Jofre de Loaisa and Sebastian del Cano, with six ships and a pinnace, sailed from Spain in 1525, and passed through the Strait of Magellan, but did not touch at Port San Julian, according to Herrera (*Dec. III*, Lib. VII, cap. v and vi), nor, according to the report of Andres de Urdaneta, who was on board (Muñoz MSS.).

[5] Simon de Alcazaba was a Portuguese in the Spanish service. He left Spain in 1534 with two ships, but he does not appear to have touched at Port San Julian, either in the account of the voyage given by Herrera, or in the narrative written by the notary, Alonso Vehedor, on board, which was preserved in the Muñoz MSS., and since printed.

different times, having been in the Strait making discoveries, were also in the Port of San Julian. If a channel had existed to the other sea, they would have used it, thus saving distance, time, and losses. I traversed the whole Strait by sea, a great deal by land, and if there had been any channel coming from the North Sea from the north, I must have found it. But it is certain that the largest river I found in the extent of a hundred leagues could be passed over with lances crossed to serve as a bridge. For this reason I called one the "River of the Lances", which enters the bay at the first narrow where the forts were to be built.

This being so, as Diego Flores saw the chart of Don Bernardino showing the information respecting the pirate, he wanted to use it as a shield for his delinquencies, saying that Pedro Sarmiento had not come out by the mouth he had seen. He told this to persons who did not understand navigation, not to those who sailed with Sarmiento, but to people ignorant of the sea ; and this is the other foolish thing he made use of to sharpen his knife. The fact is that Pedro Sarmiento, in his report, gave the latitude of the mouth of the Strait at 52° 30′ S. The day that Diego Flores and Pedro Sarmiento were at the mouth of the Strait, on the 7th of February, all the masters and pilots of the fleet, as well as Pedro Sarmiento, took the sun and made the latitude of the entrance 52° 30′ S. exactly. Diego Flores, although he took the astrolabe in his hand, did not know either how to take the altitude or to make the calculation, nor could he plot his position on the chart any more than if he had never been to sea in his life.

Further, if Diego Flores, having ill will towards Pedro Sarmiento, thought that the opening he saw was not the one through which Sarmiento had passed, how was it that afterwards Pedro Sarmiento and Diego de la Ribera, with five ships, arrived there and entered by that very mouth, and that later a single ship came there and navigated as

far as Point Santa Ana, where Pedro Sarmiento had established the settlement of Felipe, without any pilot or any guide but the chart and sailing directions supplied by Pedro Sarmiento; finding on the same point the cross planted there by Pedro Sarmiento and Anton Pablos, and the ashes of the wood they burnt, as well as a dagger lost by one of the soldiers, the cross at the river of San Juan, and all the old signs and relics, as will be mentioned in the proper place. Your Majesty already has a report of these proceedings, which Pedro Sarmiento sent from Pernambuco and the bay of San Mateo in Brazil, in 1584. Thus it is easy to expose the feeble attempt that Diego Flores made to excuse the serious fault with which his reputation is stained. Truly accurate statements should be made to princes, otherwise ignorance should be confessed, which is better than attempting to defend our faults with inventions.

Pedro Sarmiento would have been well satisfied if Diego Flores, saying that he would report what had occurred, had done so in reality, because your Majesty would then have been well served. But avoiding further disputes, Pedro Sarmiento sent to say that as Diego Flores was abandoning his duty and departing, he ought to leave on shore the people, munitions, and necessary stores, especially the pieces of artillery, powder, lead, arquebuses, muskets, and all that was intended for the Strait, and that what was wanting should be supplemented from the stores brought out by Don Diego de Alcega. But it was like preaching in the desert, for he carried off a thousand things intended for the Strait, and it was even necessary for Pedro Sarmiento to send and get out of the *Capitana*, ten small cannons, after she was over three leagues at sea. What Diego Flores said to Diego de la Ribera when he departed, was that there were to be no fortifications, but that Pedro Sarmiento was only to make his settlement. This shows

the care that was taken by him and by others never to obey your Majesty's order, which was to fortify.

Diego Flores finally sailed from Rio de Janeiro with the best men, and the greater part of the stores and provisions brought out by Diego de Alcega, and with the best ships merely for the passage home, without taking leave of Pedro Sarmiento or saying a single word to him, nor to the Governor on shore, going as joyfully as if he had been triumphant in the greatest victories that ever were won. He left Pedro Sarmiento at Rio ready to die in the service of your Majesty and in carrying out the royal wishes, and Diego de la Ribera with 300 soldiers, the settlers and some officials who had remained. Altogether there were 500 persons large and small, seamen and soldiers, and settlers, besides 30 servants of the house of Pedro Sarmiento who were resolute men.

Pedro Sarmiento sent a special report to your Majesty and to your Royal Council of the Indies by the Captain Don Juan de Pazos, as has already been stated. As Pedro Sarmiento had been robbed of the clothing for the settlers, he wrote to Manuel Tellez Barreto, Governor of Brazil, with whom your Majesty ordered Pedro Sarmiento to keep good correspondence, and him with Sarmiento ; as well as to Cristobal de Barrios, your Majesty's purveyor at Bahia, that the people might be succoured who were to proceed to the Strait. He asked for some pieces of cloth, baize, and other things to cover the nakedness of soldiers and settlers. For among the other good things that Diego Flores did as a servant of your Majesty, and for the good of the expedition was that, being aware of the robberies and losses of the stores, the most robust and best dressed soldiers were taken away. More especially it was arranged that those who had clothes from the royal stores should not go to the Strait. All these were taken, while the lean, miserable, weak and naked, were left with their flesh so

exposed that it was misery to see them and to think what they had suffered. Those who were left cried to God against Diego Flores and against those who were his accomplices.

At the time of his departure Diego Flores did a fine piece of work. The best officers and soldiers came to volunteer their services to Pedro Sarmiento, for the service of the Strait, like honourable men. When Diego Flores heard it he was so annoyed that he put some in prison, abused others with bitter words, and afterwards promised them all to get them made captains in Spain, and to enrich them in the career of the Indies. Then he went from ship to ship, crying, "I will reward you and clothe you in Spain, and they will leave you to die in the Strait like dogs." In this way he seduced many who had already agreed to remain. Even after it was settled about those who were to remain, because there were a few well dressed and healthy, he himself came to the ships and took them out, much against their own wishes. Even among the settlers he carried off some clandestinely. If a soldier came to him and said, "I want to return with your worship", he praised and rewarded him, saying he would make a gentleman of him, as if he had merited a civic crown for having liberated some citizen or city.

In this condition the General Diego Flores de Valdes left us naked, hungry, and unprovided with necessaries, while through his orderly arrangement, constancy and intelligence, his own ships were well laden, and the purses that had come empty were full of the money of your Majesty.[1] Those who were intended by your Majesty to

[1] Diego Flores de Valdes, who was a native of Gijon in Asturias, sailed from Rio on June 2nd, 1583. It would naturally be supposed that, after such gross misconduct and such a display of incapacity, Diego Flores received his deserts on his return to Spain. But this was far from having been the case; and the reason appears to have

be supplied with provisions and money, were left often without a skin ; but they were not stripped of courage to consume what was left of life to fulfil the royal wishes, with the favour of our Lord God, without which it is not possible to do any good thing.

Pedro Sarmiento wrote further to the Governor and purveyor at Bahia, for a supply of tar for the ships that were left behind, and for canvas for the sails, using for this purpose the money of your Majesty that remained. For Diego Flores left a certain quantity, very little, with Diego de la Ribera, to buy necessaries for the ships during the time of wintering, until December. Of this, the greater part was sent to buy tar and other things. The Governor and Factor, in compliance with the request of Pedro Sarmiento, provided some cloth and baize, and the tar. Diego Flores, instead of increasing, reduced the sum that was left, and the money which Alonso de Alas brought was taken again, when a receipt had been given for it. This was the fine help

been that he was so fortunate as to perform what was held to be good service at Parayba, before leaving the coast of Brazil. Some French ships were getting in a lading of dye-wood at Parayba, where Diego Flores succeeded in burning three and sinking two. He thus destroyed five French ships, fortified Parayba to resist future attacks, and returned to Spain with his fleet richly laden. These services were of sufficient importance to secure his misconduct respecting Sarmiento and the Strait being condoned. He even appears to have been taken into favour. In the Invincible Armada Diego Flores received command of the squadron of Castille, and was captain of the fleet and adviser to the Duke of Medina Sidonia on board the flag-ship (*Duro*, i, p. 43). He was jealous of his cousin Pedro de Valdes, who commanded the squadron of Andalusia, and when that officer was in danger, Diego Flores refused to succour him. For this disgraceful conduct he was censured even by the servants on board his own ship. When the Duke shut himself up in his cabin, Diego Flores was left in command. More by good luck than by good management the flagship reached the coast of Spain at Santander. Diego Flores at length got his deserts. He was proceeded against for leaving Pedro de Valdes to his fate, and was confined in the castle of Burgos. He remained in prison until January 1590 (*Duro*, ii, p. 513).

he left for us, giving as an excuse that he had taken it to maintain the soldiers. The maintenance he gave them was a death by hunger, insomuch that they fled by thirty at a time. The best remained in the city of Bahia, where there was plenty of biscuit and flour. One man, named Pedro de Arcea, borrowed 5,000 ducats in food and money, with other persons who there sustained themselves, and Diego Flores treated them so badly that it was thought they would rise against him. In all this the estate of your Majesty received much injury, for there they robbed and sold the royal property more shamefully than here; as Pedro Sarmiento knew, for he saw pieces with the mark of your Majesty in Bahia when he was there.

One thing ought not to be passed over in silence, as proving the things already mentioned, with regard to what happened at the island of Santa Catalina when Diego Flores sent the three ships *Almiranta*, *Concepcion*, and *Begoña* back, on the pretext that they were unseaworthy. These same ships went on from that time, which was in February, throughout that year, and when they were taken to Spain they were the best in the fleet.[1] From this his sinister intention is proved, when he left them behind, his only object being to oblige Pedro Sarmiento, seeing the ships and settlers left behind, to agree to return to Spain. This is most clearly proved.

In Bahia the friends of Diego Flores sold the powder, wine, provisions, and anything purchasers wanted to buy for low prices, as things that had cost them little. Touching other matters, and what occurred at Pernambuco and Bahia, it is not for me to be the narrator. I relate what should be known with reference to our own expedition and our work.

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[1] He must mean the *Almiranta* and *Concepcion*, for the *Begoña* was sunk by the English.

IV.

The Settlements in the Straits.

PEDRO SARMIENTO and Diego de la Ribera, with their people, remained at Rio Janeiro, waiting for the season to sail southwards. With them were the Captains Gregorio de las Alas[1] and Pedro Avendaño,[2] and Alonso de las Alas,[3] who went to Bahia as Accountant. Two of the captains appointed to serve in the Strait had been drowned with the *Arriola*. The other two were Andres de Viedma and Pedro Iñiguez. Another had been left at San Vicente in charge of the fort. Francisco Garces, who came as Treasurer, and Geronimo de Heredia, the Accountant, were also at San Vicente. Out of the twelve Friars sent by your Majesty, only two remained, the Commissary, Fray Amador, and his companion, Torreblanca. Of the others, Don Alonso de Sotomayor took some by force, and and some fled at Santa Catalina and came with the ships that were left at San Vicente. They had all mutinied through the instigations of Diego Flores and the Treasurer Garcia.

Pedro Sarmiento saw the nakedness of the soldiers, and tried to remedy the evil and to cover the bodies of the

[1] He went out as Captain of the *Concepcion*.

[2] This must be a mistake for Domingo Martinez de Avendaño, who went out in command of the frigate *Maria Magdalena*.

[3] There were three other captains of this name; Gregorio of the *Concepcion*; Pero Estevan, who had the *Esperanza* when she was lost in Cadiz Bay; and "Estevan", who commanded the *San Estevan de Soroa*. Alonso was doubtless one of the family. He was a half brother of the Admiral Diego de la Ribera, and left Spain as captain of the *Almiranta San Juan Bautista*.

most necessitous with some old pieces of cloth that had been saved from the stores, also giving them shirts and hose, and buying hides with which they could make sandals for themselves. Thus a remedy was found, to the glory of God and thanks to your Majesty; for with the royal clothing much damaged but carefully kept, they became joyful, consoled, and pleased, praying to God for your Majesty, and saying that they were ready to start. Their rations were regularly served out and they became stout, healthy, and contented. Pedro Sarmiento also sent to San Vicente for the settlers who had been left there, and almost all came. They also were lodged and cared for by the inhabitants of the city, while the Governor and citizens assisted them and also gave help to the ships. There were only missing three or four families of settlers who had been seduced by the Friars and by Garri, the officer who was left in charge of the fort. As he had been talked over by Diego Flores, that vinegar remained. Only two of the Friars were true. One was named Antonio Rodriguez, and the other Geronimo Portugues. All the others mutinied against their obedience to their Commissary-General, and the wishes and orders of your Majesty, without the slightest occasion in the world, except the example of Diego Flores, and other little matters, which for the honour of the habit of the blessed and seraphic St. Francis it is not decent to mention in public. All these inconveniences and innumerable others show the kind of constancy of Diego Flores and his followers, who were loud enough in peace, which was on shore, and were dumb during war, which is being at sea.

The cloths and tar having arrived from Bahia, and some flour and salt meat from San Vicente, the vessels were caulked and refitted, and we embarked. Pedro Sarmiento embarked the settlers with some calves and goats, and some sheep, plants of fruit trees, vines, and garden vege-

tables to cultivate, and seeds of all kinds. We sailed from Rio de Janeiro with five vessels[1] on the 2nd of December 1583, having bought tools for the fortifications, and paid for everything with money, down to the bed clothes. We took two Friars, the one named Antonio Rodriguez, and the other Geronimo. For the Commissary, and his companion Friar Martin, had mutinied and refused to embark. This was contrary to the provision of your Majesty, and the others had mutinied *nihilominus*. A commission was issued against the other Friars who had remained at San Vicente, and were four in number.

Having arrived at Santos and San Vicente, Pedro Sarmiento went on shore, and embarked some settlers who had been left there. Three of the Friars fled into the interior, leaving one named Geronimo, whom Pedro Sarmiento asked, for the love of God, to go on board, which he presently did. He also begged another Friar, named Bartolomè,[2] with urgent prayers, to make the voyage as he had come out on that duty, and wanted nothing in the way of clothing, shoes, and provisions, and the ecclesiastical office. But the more he was asked, the more he would not come. Pedro Sarmiento requested him to turn it over in his mind for a day, and besought him to show charity to us and to the service of God by going with his two companions, that we might not be in want of confessors and ministers of the holy sacraments. Meanwhile, Pedro Sarmiento discovered the ornaments of the church which the other Friars, Juan de Carvajal and Amador, had sold, being the property of your Majesty. He recovered the ornaments complete, with the altars and chalices of silver. Then returning to Friar Bartolomè to entreat him to go on board, he found that he did not wish to embark, although

[1] The *Maria*, *Trinidad*, *Santa Catalina*, *Magdalena*, and another.

[2] Bartolomè de Benalcazar.

he had given his word to do so. He had a large supply of linen and cloth which had been given to him, as to the rest, for the voyage, and the Commissary had made off with a quantity of money which had been given to him at Seville by order of his Majesty for the use of all. They had wasted and sold many pieces of cloth that had been brought for habits, as well as damask for chasubles. The commissary pocketed the money and spent it. They had also been given numerous presents of flour, bacon, and other food during the voyage, which they sold and kept the money with which to escape to other parts, leaving the road which was pointed out by their duty to your Majesty. Out of reverence for his habit Pedro Sarmiento did not wish to compel Friar Bartolomè to come on board, although he had the power to take that course. But this Friar returned to the lodging of Pedro Sarmiento making a joke of everything, so the commission was made use of, and he was ordered to embark. The Friar was alarmed and went in a canoe to the *Capitana*[1] with the other two monks, which pleased the people on board for good reasons. Having finished the shipment of the flour and meat, and some pipes of wine, we got under weigh for the Strait, with the favour of God, on the 8th of December.

Sailing with fair winds and fine weather, thanks be to God, we arrived at the entrance of the Strait, without accident, on the 1st of February 1584, the day of the Purification of our Lady. Entering with wind and tide, and even on the same tide without stopping, we reached the first narrow and passed it, not without some satisfaction. Being in the second bay between the Cape of San Gregorio and the said narrow, four leagues beyond the latter, the tide turned and the current began to be against us, which

[1] Not the *San Cristoval*. She had been taken by Diego Flores. This new *Capitana* appears to have been the *Trinidad*.

obliged us to anchor, to wait until the next flood, being unable to proceed in opposition to it. One of the frigates towed a large boat which we had bought at Rio for use in examining and surveying the Strait and for other purposes. As the frigate turned to keep her head to the current, the boat was caught under the counter and could not be cleared, and with the pitching of the frigate she was torn to pieces. The men in the boat escaped on board, losing their clothes.

After this the tidal current increased so that the cables were strained to the utmost. The Indians, who had seen us, made such a smoke that it concealed sea and land. Then the wind came down from the snowy mountains with great force and, combined with the current, the cables parted, so that the other anchors had to be let go. Such was the straining and pitching of the ships on their cables that no one could keep his feet, and they all believed that the ships would go to pieces and that they would all be lost. One frigate parted her second cable and she was carried by wind and current, under bare poles, into the narrow. The ship *Trinidad*, with Pedro Sarmiento on board, was in the part of the channel where the current was most furious, and consequently laboured more than the others, being larger and heavier, and more loaded with people, artillery and stores. Consequently all, including the master and pilot, bemoaned their fate, believing that they must all be lost. Their terror was such that some of them confessed, thinking they must perish. The captain wanted to cut the cable and run out of the Strait, but Pedro Sarmiento prevented it, seeing that it was half-tide. The Captain Zubieta[1] persisted in his desire to cut, so Pedro Sarmiento gave him an order in writing on the part of his Majesty that he should not do so, pointing out the mischief

[1] Martin de Zubieta, Captain of the *Trinidad*.

of having come here to make a settlement and being driven out by force. Pedro Sarmiento restrained him, there being neither reason nor justice in cutting the cable. Such was the terror with which Diego Flores had infected those under his command that this man trembled, although he was a Biscayan, one of a nation which consists of resolute and experienced sailors. In this state of things they cut the cable, pretending that it had parted owing to the force of the current. We were left to drift, and began to take a turn towards the narrow, though Pedro Sarmiento worked so as to make tacks until the flood began, which would be in two hours, for the bay was clear, and there were ten leagues from shore to shore; but the pilot, captain, and sailors were so amazed that they could not work the ship. At this time we were twenty-two leagues within the Strait, and three leagues from the Cape of San Gregorio, so that we should arrive there in an hour and a-half, the tide helping, where there is secure anchorage, and where we could unload and establish the first settlement and begin to build the fort, there being many conveniences, good land, water, and wood, and natives at a league's distance.

The ship *Maria*,[1] with Diego de la Ribera and Anton Pablos on board was there, anchored near the shore, so that she had less strain on her cables; although she parted more than one. She and the other frigate had the means of repairing damages. Presently the other frigate parted her cable, and, turning into the narrow, she encountered the current when half through it. The stream was so strong that with the foresail hoisted she could not make half a quarter of league during the whole night, with the wind whistling in the sail. In the morning of the 4th of February we passed the narrow, and the ship *Maria*, with the other frigate, parted cables and came out of the narrow,

[1] Her full name was the *Santa Maria de Castro.*

heaving to in the wide part, fourteen leagues short of the capes at the entrance. Diego de la Ribera and Anton Pablos were here able to communicate with Pedro Sarmiento. He told them to go back with the tide, and if unable to pass the rapid again owing to a contrary wind, that we should anchor in the bay to the north of the rapid, where the forts were to be built, at a distance of a league from where the ships were hove to. This they did. Coming to the narrow channel we were met by such a fresh westerly wind that it was impossible to enter or pass on so as to anchor in the bay. Two more attempts were made, but each time the ships fell off, and were carried out of the Strait.

Pedro Sarmiento turned once more to speak with the two officers. Seeing the unfavourable weather, and that their cables were nearly expended, in order not to lose more time, and as the people were becoming sad and despondent, they agreed to anchor under the low land of the Cape of Virgins, at the first entrance of the Strait, and fourteen leagues from the narrow. Pedro Sarmiento went on shore to reconnoitre and, with the favour of God, they anchored on the fifth of February, and at once got the boats out. Pedro Sarmiento then went on shore with Captain Gregorio de las Alas and Anton Pablos. Sarmiento carried a great cross on his shoulder, with which, in the name of the most Holy Trinity, he jumped on land, and the others after him, with eight arquebusiers. With the cross on high they went on their knees and recited a *Te Deum laudamus*.[1] Coming to a large plain clothed with odoriferous and consoling herbs, and putting his hand on his sword, he solemnly took possession for your Majesty

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[1] In the Pernambuco Report he gives the names of the witnesses—Captain Gregorio de las Alas, Pilot Anton Pablos, Hernando de Requeña, Gonzalo de Reyna, Juan de Osuna.

and your heirs and successors to the crowns of Castille and Leon, in the name of the most Holy Trinity, Father Son, and Holy Ghost. In sign of possession he cut the grass, moved stones, and made a great heap of stones with his hands, the others helping. Presently he planted the cross which he had borne on his shoulders, and they sang the hymn of *Crux Vexilla Regis.* They placed a white cloth he had brought on the cross as a banner, making the complete instrument of possession to secure the right of your Majesty.

This having been done, Captain Gregorio de las Alas wanted Pedro Sarmiento to return to the ships and report what had been done to Diego de la Ribera. Pedro Sarmiento replied: "Sir Captain, for the glory of God, until now, so long as I was able, I have never abandoned that which I had once undertaken in the discovery of the Indies. I have planted the cross of Christ in the name of the King our Lord, and I will not abandon the place, with the favour of God, while there is no one who is able to put more constraint on me than at present. I trust in God that, when there is no one here but ourselves, the land will sustain us by the divine grace." He then ordered the captain Gregorio de las Alas to disembark the soldiers and stores with diligence. Pedro Sarmiento remained on shore waiting, with only eight soldiers. Presently all the boats were hoisted out, and the first who landed were the captain and servants of Pedro Sarmiento, who raised a royal standard with the arms of your Majesty on one side, and the crucifixion on the other. As they arrived, the people formed in order of battle, and at once raised certain tents round a place of arms, and dug a deep trench round, for the protection of those who had landed, having first made a survey, a review, and a record of what was done. The biscuit and bales of clothing were stored in a large tent; and this day all received the best shelter possible, which gave them satisfaction, and those

were gladdened who had felt the cold. Then people were sent out to seek for water, as there was none on the spot. At a distance of a quarter of a league five fountains of perennial water were found in a little valley, which received the name of the "Valley of the Fountains", and this first site was named the "Purification of our Lady".

Next day the naked were clothed, all being given cloth for clothes and sandals, together with some linen, needles and thread. As there were no needles in store, Pedro Sarmiento bought them at a *real* each, and distributed them, one to every four persons. I say this to show the abundance we had. Further, God provided that, on the effects of the Governor being disembarked, he divided all that was necessary among those in want, serving out caps and shirts, one for each man, and sandals, insomuch that presently all were clothed, glory be to God. There had now disembarked three hundred persons, but there were more to land, besides almost all the stores of powder, and all the artillery.

That night there was a strong breeze with the current, which obliged the ships to weigh and run out for three days. Believing that they had deserted and gone to Brazil, the Governor addressed his companions, saying that now they had sufficient hands to labour and obtain all they desired. He asked them to raise their eyes and consider the extent of land that was before them, adding that it would all belong to those who showed valour and constancy, to enjoy so many mercies which God our Lord had conferred on them. Putting their confidence in Him, and forwarding His holy service, He would give us grace to prevail and to persevere in labour, for in these parts it is honour which brings welfare to the good, both those now living and their descendants. They must no longer think of the ships, because they were gone, but that our feet and hands, endowed with persevering courage, must be our

parents and our granaries. Henceforth we must tuck our shirts into our girdles and set to work to build huts, and seek for provisions and shelter for the winter which was at hand. All answered that they were ready to obey and to follow to the end of the world as they had no other father; so they entreated Pedro Sarmiento to do what he said, as they would work and persevere under him, for in no other way could they be preserved.

At this time we had not provisions for four days, except flour from the roots of Brazil[1] and two sacks of biscuit. Seeking over those wildernesses for roots, we found some that were sweet and well flavoured like turnips, which, when roasted or boiled, might serve as bread; and also some very small roots as sweet and pleasant as conserved pine nuts. We also found such quantities of the black berries of a thorn tree, well flavoured and nourishing, that they brought them in large sacks and ate them. With this food, for they had no other that was more sustaining, Pedro Sarmiento selected the Valley of the Fountains at the entrance to a ravine, and half a league from the Cape of Virgins, as a site most sheltered and most convenient for a settlement. Under the favour of the most Holy Trinity he brought the people there in procession, with a cross on high and candles lighted, taking possession in due form for your Majesty and the royal crown of Castille and Leon, and for your successors. On this site he formed a settlement, giving it the name of the "City of the Name of Jesus", with additional names of Saints. A cross was presently set up where the church was to be built; and in the square was set up the tree for the execution of justice. The church was next traced out, which was to be dedicated to the Purification of our Lady, because the arrival in the Strait was on that day, and by reason of a special vow made to the Virgin, our advocate.

[1] Mandioc.

The Governor, with a spade in his hands, cut the first sods for the foundation of the high altar, in the name of the most Holy Trinity, behind him being the Friars in their vestments. Then the captains and officers dug up earth, in the name of their saints and advocates.[1] Pedro Sarmiento placed the first stone in the hole, and in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ and of your Majesty he put a large silver coin, with the arms and name of your Majesty, with the day and year, in a testimony or instrument written on parchment, with the testimony of possession, into a jar, tarred and sealed with charcoal, so as to make it imperishable. Next, the altar was made, and the bounds of the church traced out to the height of a man and a half, the clergy blessing it in the usual way and sprinkling it with holy water. It was covered with a sail from the ship as there was no other material at present, images and a cross being placed inside. The royal standard of your Majesty was blessed, and the vespers of the Holy Trinity and of the Purification of the Virgin were said, those being the invocations of the church. Then a procession, singing a litany, went round it.

Next, Pedro Sarmiento marked out, at the sides of the square, streets and houses in squares, building huts made of poles, earth and grass. At one side of the church your Majesty's store house, large and spacious, was made for receiving all the stores. On the following day he named the officers of the municipality, in conformity with the ordinance of your Majesty. Having been called together the Governor showed them the commission of your Majesty appointing him Governor and Captain-General. The judge and officers, receiving it in their hands with much reverence, kissed it and placed it on their heads, and they received and obeyed Pedro Sarmiento as their Governor

[1] In the Pernambuco Report the names of the officers, and of the patron saint of each are given.

and Captain-General. Two magistrates were then elected, and the Governor confirmed them in the name of your Majesty, with the other officers of the settlement.

Sarmiento also ordained a solemn and perpetual festival to the honour and glory of our Lord God and the most glorious Virgin St. Mary his mother, our Lady and advocate, with a procession, a march with banners, vespers, and a mass, on the day of the Purification, in memory of the founding of the city; and this was signed and entered in the municipal book. On that very day the first festival was celebrated. A hospital was got ready for the sick and infirm who were not able, at present, to build habitations for themselves.

The Governor had brought out labourers and gardeners at his own expense to cultivate the land, and he now caused them to begin to break up the ground near the city, and the sowing labourers sowed a quantity of Spanish beans, although they had been made wet by the salt water. The gardeners made little gardens round the fountains, and planted the vine shoots which Sarmiento had brought out, in barrels, as well as all kinds of vegetables and some fruit trees with shoots. He also made a pond for the use of the city, where the settlers and their wives could make their arrangements and remain contented. Pedro Sarmiento sent people in all directions to seek for things to eat, for they had no provisions now that the ships were gone, without any hope that they would return. They found a quantity of chick peas in the underwood, sweet like honey, but smaller than those of Spain. They also collected a quantity of shell-fish in an arm of the sea near the settlement, and found dog fish and a fish with a very rough skin, at low water. One day all the soldiers went there, and one of them caught more than a hundred very large ones with his hands, which they took for provisions. These little things made them cheerful, for, though they

did not expect that the ships would return, yet they trusted in God and were confident in themselves.

But God, who never forsakes those who put their trust in Him, brought the ships back to the old anchorage on the 13th of February.[1] As that beach is dangerous when the wind is blowing on the shore, as it then was, nothing could be disembarked without the chance of losing the effects and the boat, and getting the provisions wet and spoilt. Pedro Sarmiento went to the ship of Diego de la Ribera, which was the one furthest out, and arranged that the *Trinidad*, which was the largest, and was loaded with flour, munitions and artillery, should be run on shore high and dry during flood tide, so as to get out the flour and other things to be conveyed partly in boats, and partly in carts to the narrow; and that the *Maria* should be left at anchor with the soldiers and remaining stores, that Pedro Sarmiento might proceed up the Strait to found another city, at the part of the land where there is wood, and great quantities of fish, game, fruits, birds, and many other things, being in the country of the tall natives.

This having been settled, all that was wanted, and that was on board the three frigates, was put on board the other two ships. But while Pedro Sarmiento sent for the captain to put the things on board, those that were in the frigates and had to return, took and stole many things.[2] Finally, Pedro Sarmiento put his relation, Juan Suarez de Quiroga, on board the *Maria* as captain; he being a very resolute knight and servant of your Majesty. On board the *Trinidad* he put Andres de Vicdma, a captain of

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[1] Saturday, the 17th of February, is the date given in the Pernambuco Report.

[2] In the Pernambuco Report Gregorio de las Alas, the Captain Morejon, and the Master, are mentioned as having stolen everything on board the *Maria*, down to rigging, chains, and even nails. She was left with one small anchor and cable.

artillery and a veteran of honour, trained in the wars of Flanders, and resolute. These arrangements having been made, a bad S.E. wind sprang up during the night, which tore all the vessels from their anchors and drove them out to sea. This was the fourth time, and they were driven as far as 49°, so that they thought they would be unable to return. At the end of five days God was served by sending fine weather, and they all returned to the same anchorage. Diego de la Ribera did this very manfully, showing a desire to serve your Majesty. It is just to give every one his due, that the good may be recognised and the bad condemned. By this example it will be seen whether Diego Flores could not have returned if he had chosen, when Pedro Sarmiento loudly called upon him to do so; but he, not looking forward, turned and fled.

As soon as the ships anchored this time, Diego de la Ribera, having been on shore and seen the natives, and Pedro Sarmiento having gone to the ships, they agreed that at high-water that night, the tide rising very high here, Pedro Sarmiento being on shore, should make fires at high water to show the place where the *Trinidad* should be beached. Those on shore were to help with ropes, so that at low water the ship would be high and dry. Everything could then be got out of her without trouble. Pedro Sarmiento was all night on shore showing lights, but those on board did not carry out the arrangement, which was ill done and harmful, as it turned out. Next morning, Anton Pablos brought the ship *Trinidad* in shore, and the low-water left her in an arm of the sea, where he abandoned her to be lost, and went to his dinner without giving any help.[1] Pedro Sarmiento seeing the disaster, and that the

[1] In the Pernambuco Report there is a long account of an interview that Sarmiento had with Ribera and Pablos. He entreated them to save the *Trinidad*, but they treated him with great insolence and would do nothing.

people and stores were in danger of being lost between sea and land, came quickly to the rescue in a boat, though it was hauled up on shore a league away. In a moment he set to work with his hands, God being favourable, and with the help of some soldiers he ran her into the water. Getting into her he reached the ship, which was rolling and opening out, so that there was danger of all, people and stores, being lost in the surf.

Pedro Sarmiento was giving orders to secure her, so that she might rise with the tide which was flowing, and so remain dry and clear of the sea. But Anton Pablos arrived in a fury, and, without considering the tide, made them run the ship on shore, when she commenced to roll with the seas that broke over her, so that we looked upon all as lost with the stores; for not much account was made of the ship, except to make houses and doors with the boards that were in her. There were still soldiers and settlers in the ship, under Captain Viedma, who were hurled about at every lurch, and presently she opened at the keel, so that the water entered freely. Anton Pablos was stupified, and fled to his own ship without offering any help, neither him nor any of the others. Assuredly Anton Pablos was under the greatest obligation from the favours your Majesty had conferred upon him at the request of Pedro Sarmiento. The Chief Pilot having fled, the others did the same.

The day after this disaster, Pedro Sarmiento being on board the *Maria* to finish his arrangements with Diego de la Ribera, Anton Pablos presented a certificate for your Majesty, composed and written by himself, in which there were some things against Pedro Sarmiento and intended to clear himself, and wanted it to be signed. Pedro Sarmiento, to oblige and content him, and to induce him to persevere in the service of your Majesty and to complete the work of the ships, not only dissimulated and signed, but even wrote under the whole, in his own handwriting, a

request that your Majesty would confer more favours on him. It was thus that Pedro Sarmiento strove to animate those who were slack in the royal service on difficult and doubtful occasions, and those who only care to stir in their own interests. It is always like the sign of an inn that shelters those who pass, and ever remains serene, thanks be to our Lord God, to whom be all praise. Diego de la Ribera then asked me to write a certificate to your Majesty for him, and to please and oblige him I said I would do so in letters of gold. But Anton Pablos, when he had got his, was wanting in everything as regards your Majesty's service, neglecting his duty and leaving the ship without help, and deserting Pedro Sarmiento. He also gave Diego de la Ribera to understand that the three frigates could not hold by their cables, though it was calm.

With this precious scheme, on that same night, without any need from wind or current, Diego de la Ribera and the other vessels[1] departed silently, without waiting for letters which Pedro Sarmiento had written for your Majesty and for your Royal Council of the Indies. The hurry of Anton Pablos arose from the fear that, as the ship *Trinidad* had been abandoned without any profit from her, Pedro Sarmiento would come to the other ships and take out some of the provisions of which they had more than they wanted, and the stores and munitions for the Strait, of which there was still a quantity not yet landed, and which they carried off to Brazil, even including clothes. Some of those who were on board wished to remain and settle, but they were persuaded not to land, so that even many of the settlers returned. Honest men would not have done this simply by persuasion, so that they must have been taken back almost by force.

Diego de la Ribera was asked for a pilot to serve on

[1] Three frigates.

board the ship that remained, but he never would appoint one although he had four supernumeraries. It was, therefore, from having no other resource that Pedro Sarmiento agreed with a Portuguese sailor that he should act as pilot, teaching him how to observe an altitude, and promising him a salary of 600 ducats a year out of his own pocket, and if he had to proceed into the South Sea he was to have a hundred ducats a month, according to the custom of that sea, all for the service of your Majesty.

Finally, on this same night they made sail silently and maliciously, and without the excuse of bad weather. The proof that this was the case is that the ship *Maria*, which remained, continued to lay quietly at her anchor with only one cable and a boat's hawser; while the frigates had two cables, as was proved as regards the *Maria* and the other ships in Rio de Janeiro, and reported to your Majesty from Pernambuco. The original documents, drawn up by Pedro Sarmiento, and, to prevent all doubt and suspicion, attested before Salvador Correa de Saa, the Governor of Rio de Janeiro, and by his Secretary, being also Secretary of the city of San Sebastian, is now submitted.

Returning to the ships *Trinidad* and *Maria:* when Pedro Sarmiento saw that the former was hopelessly lost, and that the sea was making clean breaches through her, he caused the masts to be cut away, and making cables fast to her, he secured her on the beach with anchors, by the force of three hundred men, and thus she remained safe. He had sacks made from the sails, and in two hours he got out all the flour that had remained dry, for much had been damaged by the salt water which entered the ship. He also got out some salt meat, grain, and wine.[1] These stores having been placed in safe custody, he pre-

[1] The Pernambuco Report adds beans and *atun* or preserved tunny fish.

sently set to work with the artillery, saving 22 pieces, including two culverins and two half cannons, and some iron and steel. Half the wine and flour, and some tools were lost. Next day was spring tides, and the ship was broken up. The wood, cordage, and nails that could be made useful, were collected with great diligence. We made carts and brought everything to the city, partly also in men's arms or on their backs, and all was stored in your Majesty's magazine, in charge of the ensign Garnica, whom Pedro Sarmiento nominated as store-keeper. Captain Viedma, a very honourable, diligent and conscientious man, was nominated Lieutenant to the Governor, and Captain Iñiguez became Master of the Camp, to assist in the defence of the city, for the natives came resolutely and very often to surprise it by night.

While thus occupied in saving things from the *Trinidad* on shore, the crew of the *Maria* got together cables, anchors, bars of iron, blocks and other things belonging to the lost ship, and in the place where the *Maria* was anchored they found some buoys of anchors, and lengths of cable which would be useful for making her fast to her anchors more securely. Pedro Sarmiento served some clothing out, from the stores, to the poor soldiers and sailors on board the *Maria*, giving orders that they were not to land, because they had to proceed up the Strait to found another settlement. He also gave clothing to those who had been saved from the *Trinidad*.

While Pedro Sarmiento was on the sea making these arrangements, the natives made an attack on the settlement, discharging many arrows, and advancing to where the guard was posted, they wounded a Spaniard in the thigh. Pedro Iñiguez was on watch with few men, but he resisted the attack, and put the natives to flight. Although they came again, they never attacked with such fury as the first time.

The settlers proceeded to improve the huts, and the carpenters and blacksmiths began to work, repairing the arquebusses at two forges which Pedro Sarmiento had bought at his own expense, for those in store had been lost. They dragged four sakers up from the sea, for the defence of the city, which they surrounded with as good a ditch and rampart as could be made in a short time. Sentries, keeping vigilant watch, were posted day and night, for the natives were very audacious.

On the 20th of February Pedro Sarmiento gave instructions to Juan Suarez de Quiroga, the captain of the *Maria*, and to the pilot Antonio Gonzalez, how they were to navigate within the Strait, and he gave them a chart with sailing directions. They were ordered to sail to the foot of a mountain, to a port which Pedro Sarmiento had named "Los Rincones", at the point of Santa Ana, when he first came there from Peru. They were to wait there with the ship, and to cut good timber, while the Governor came by land with a body of men to found a settlement. The ship got as far as the first narrow, but while in it a contrary wind sprang up from the west, with a strong current, and forced her to return to the anchorage in front of the city. Anchoring off the beach of the city of Jesus she was driven from her anchor again, and carried out to sea during the night. God was served that she should return next day with a fair wind. As soon as Sarmiento saw her, he made signs that she should not anchor, but proceed with the same tide and pass the narrow. The captain, understanding the signal, went on without stopping, sounding carefully as he proceeded, and so he sailed up the Strait, in obedience to the orders of Sarmiento, with some accidents, but not being again driven back.

The arrangement was that Pedro Sarmiento should wait three days, and, if the ship was not driven back during that time, he should set out from the city on the fourth

day by land. While he was waiting, some natives came to the city, and, stopping on the hill near the fountains, they began to speak in their language and to make signs. Pedro Sarmiento came out to speak to them, but they would not let him get near them; so he gave orders that one should be caught and brought to him, whom he dressed in a shirt and to whom he gave some presents. When the father of the native, who was waiting to see what happened, beheld that Pedro Sarmiento let his son go to join the rest, he was so well content that he took some martin skins and, covering himself and his son with them, he went straight to the Governor and thanked him by signs for what he had done. He presented his mantle, while Pedro Sarmiento gave the father some things made of glass and a hat, and for the chief he gave a looking-glass, which astonished him at seeing his figure in it. Then all the others came with confidence, and Pedro Sarmiento presented something to each, giving them to understand that he was their friend, and that they should call their chief. They promised to do so by signs, and that in the course of two days they would come with him, and bring some food. Then they departed.

As soon as the three days were passed since the ship sailed, Pedro Sarmiento made a speech to the settlers, animating them to persevere in the work of the settlement, and in good fellowship with each other. He left with them certain ordinances for the services of God and of your Majesty; and celebrated the festival that he had instituted in memory of the founding of the city, with vespers and masses, with all the solemnity that was possible. On the 4th of March he set out with a hundred men, arquebusiers and shield men, each carrying rations for eight days. New sandals and shoes and some spears had been served out to them. Taking leave of the rest, the settlement was left in charge of Captains Viedma and Pedro Iñiguez. They

parted with tears from those who remained behind, taking Friar Geronimo[1] with them, and leaving Friar Antonio. Diego de la Ribera had carried off Friar Bartolomé. Sufficient provisions and necessaries were left to last for some time, and Pedro Sarmiento promised that he would return to see them, and to take back some of the married couples to settle in the other city that he was going to found. After fifteen days the Lieutenant was to send a serjeant and thirty or forty men to follow the same road, which would be marked out by signs. It is worthy of remark that when Pedro Sarmiento began his march, the sheep they had landed, and the dogs, set out also, and it was not possible to induce them to return to the settlement. They marched as well and as quickly as the men without any compulsion, which seemed a miracle, and every night they came to lodge themselves in the middle of the *corps du gard.*

Marching in order of battle by land, they encountered some hardships. Pedro Sarmiento always went ahead to make out the road, and when he came to gulfs or arms of the sea, he left the main body and went on with a few men to select the route first, so as not to tire the rest. Many times he came to places where it was necessary to make a round of several leagues, and to come back for the others; and he always went with a compass in his hands, for there was no clear way—nothing but wilderness. He carefully remarked the lay of the land, so as always to return to the channel of the Strait, for sometimes it was necessary to leave it for twelve and fifteen leagues, to find a way. It was a curious thing that we found vestiges of many people, great and small, yet in more than forty leagues not a single human being was seen, nor any smoke. Previously, when in the Strait, all the plains were seen full of smoke. From

[1] Geronimo de Montoya the Commissary.

this we were led to believe that the natives were either hiding, or watching us secretly, that they might fall upon us, if they caught us off our guard on the march. In marching over this land, we saw very pleasant valleys covered with odoriferous herbs, also many deer, wild cats with beautiful skins,[1] and many vultures whose eggs were found on the plain and were eaten by the men. Once we found on the plain a quantity of creeping herbs which produced a small fruit, the size of a pomegranate seed, which were sweet and wholesome.[2] Another fruit, called cherries by the men, was in such quantity that the men could pluck it as they marched, without stopping, and satisfy their hunger.[3] Their hunger was greater than could be wished, for the ration for eight days only consisted of half a pound of biscuit a day, and one small measure of wine, for the whole time; for there was no wine in store—only what the Governor had left, which he kept for the sick and to say mass, so that it could not be regularly served out. As the soldiers were young, and unaccustomed to the hardships of a march, most of them ate all their rations in two days without looking forward, and soon afterwards they began to be faint with hunger. Then God succoured us with the fruit, and now and then with eggs, while when we came down to the seashore there were shell-fish and sea-weed, which they cooked in a pot brought by Pedro Sarmiento for that purpose, as one who knew the necessities of a new land. Sometimes a deer was secured.

Before reaching the first narrow, no water was found in the space of two days, and the people, such as in the Indies

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[1] Skunks? In the Pernambuco Report he says that some were run down by the dogs.

[2] This was probably the *Myrtus nummularia*, which has a small edible berry.

[3] Perhaps the crowberry, fruit of an *Empetrum*.

are called *chapetones*,[1] became very sad. The reason was that the rivers, flowing from the interior to the sea, flow underneath when they reach the sands, and, as we were marching along the shore, we did not find any fresh water from this cause. It pleased God that when we were marching along a backwater looking for shell-fish on the beach at low tide, we came to some running water. Pedro Sarmiento tasted it out of curiosity, and found that it was sweet. Telling his followers, they drank and were consoled when they expected to perish, for now they no longer felt thirst. There was here a great quantity of black stone which, when put into the fire, burnt for a long time like grease, and better than French coal.

Having arrived at the first narrow, which is the position where the fort should be built, we found it to be very well suited for the purpose, and at a distance of a quarter of a league there is extensive pasture land, very pleasant to behold, with grass suitable for sheep, lagoons, and fuel, while near the narrow is a rivulet of good and plentiful water which falls into a bay forming good and secure anchorage for ships large and small, quite close to the narrow. We called the rivulet "of the Lances" because, being narrow, we put the long lances we carried across it and so passed over. Here there are salt marshes between high and low water, and swamps suitable for making salt in the summer, and mines of saltpetre as it appeared to us.

Having passed the first narrow, which is 14 leagues from Nombre de Jesus, we arrived at a bay of the Strait where there was a great quantity of whales' bones, hugely large, for the whales enter the Strait to pair for the summer, then come to the coast and die. The natives thereabouts eat their flesh, and that of the seals, which is their ordinary food. From this

[1] Greenhorns.

place we began to find quantities of nourishing shell-fish the shells containing many small pearls, some black and others good, the black kinds shining and polished like jet which is a wonderful thing to behold.[1]

We travelled along the coast of that bay, named the "Bay of Victoria", because, when Pedro Sarmiento passed this way the first time, he gained a victory over the natives here, and was also saved by God from a great danger on the sea, which was here encountered. After marching ten leagues we arrived at the Cape of San Gregorio, which is in the second narrow, where the width is half a league. This land is pleasant and fertile, producing much fruit, as well the red cherries as the berries growing on thorn trees, and there are many wholesome and sustaining shell-fish. A league and a half away there were many valiant natives, who all retired and waited for us in an ambuscade. Here Pedro Sarmiento had an encounter with some natives when he was passing through the Strait on his way from Peru in January 1580. This time the natives let us pass about a league into their land, when, as we crossed a ravine by the sea, we came upon the very valiant men of great stature, with a leader very much taller than the tall native captured by Pedro Sarmiento at the time of his first visit, who was seen by your Majesty at Badajos in the same year.

The natives had dogs with them, of different colours, much larger than those of Ireland, and there are many in that land.[2] They use them in war time, the dogs fighting each other, and also being set at men opposed to their

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[1] The principal edible shell-fish are mussels, very large limpets, and *macteas*. The Fuegians also feed on sea urchins: but the Magellan mussel, a very large bivalve, is their staple food for the greater part of the year. These mussels occasionally contain very small pearls.

[2] Dr. Coppinger tells me that some of the Fuegians had dogs with them, resembling large rough-coated terriers. But they were never seen running wild.

masters. These natives came naked, with bows and arrows, wearing clouts of the wool of the llamas,[1] which are the sheep of Peru, whence the bezoar stones are obtained. Here there are many, and their natives wear their wool on their heads as a *llautu*,[2] the name of the head dress worn in Peru instead of hats or caps. They also wore many strings of beads round their necks, and from the wrists to half way up their arms. They came shouting "Jesus, Maria, Cross, Captain", which surprised every one who was unable to conjecture whence that novelty arose. The chief of these natives came straight up to the Governor saying "Captain, Ho! Ho! Ho!" raising his hands to heaven, and expressing satisfaction. Pedro Sarmiento embraced him, and showed friendship to him and the rest by signs and by some words which they understood, and also by some trifles, such as combs and beads, and a red cap and looking glass, explaining the use of each. They appeared to be satisfied, and invited us to come to their settlement, making signs that they would give us to eat, but that we should not proceed in the direction we were going, as other natives further on would kill us. They also made signs that our ship, of which we were in search, had passed on through the second rapid. At this we were rejoiced, because we had become anxious from having seen nothing of her. This great native, to amuse us, or perhaps to terrify us, took an arrow more than four *palmos* in length, and fine as a cross-bow shaft, and taking off the stone point, he forced the arrow through his mouth and down his throat into his body until the feathers were hidden in his mouth. Afterwards he pulled it out, and there was a little blood at the end, the most astonishing thing that can be imagined.

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[1] Guanacos.

[2] *Huaraca* is the word used in the Pernambuco Report: which means a sling in the Quichua language. It must have been twisted round the head. These slings were made of the wool of the guanaco.

Then he gave himself a good blow on the chest, which sounded like the stroke of a timbrel, and immediately after he gave a great leap into the air, with a terrible shout. Next he embraced Pedro Sarmiento and pretended to turn back.

Pedro Sarmiento continued his march, going in front himself as he always did, and directing the ensign Guernica to bring up the rear. Guernica had with him six shield men and six arquebusiers, and he was told not to let the natives approach if they made their appearance, for their custom was to come first to reconnoitre as friends, and the second time to make war. He was to pass the news of what happened on to the front. After having marched about a thousand paces, the same natives returned, and those of us who were in front saw them first. They carried many arrows in the *llautus* on their heads, and in the bows, and others in their hands. As soon as Pedro Sarmiento saw them, he returned quickly to the rear guard with sword and shield, followed by some of the arquebusiers. Rapidly as he came, the Indians had already discharged one or two flights of arrows, and had killed a soldier, who received an arrow between the shoulders, which came out at the heart, passing through a bag that he was carrying on his back, full of shirts, shoes, and sandals. They had seriously wounded ten other soldiers in the thighs, arms, and body; and they attacked so furiously that they seemed to have expected to destroy us all.[1] But when Sarmiento came to the rescue, by the mercy of God, he got some to return to the defence, and incited others. A soldier attacked the native chief with a flint, shielding Pedro Sarmiento, who gave the same chief

[1] From the Pernambuco Report it appears that there was a panic. The men fired their arquebuses without taking any aim and they fell back on each other like sheep.

a good blow with his sword at the same time, on which he fell. It is a wonderful thing that as the chief was falling, he shot an arrow furiously, which went whistling through the grass and cutting it. The native chief died. His followers were all wounded, and those who were able, took to flight, some falling at intervals. It was noteworthy that our dogs, and those of the natives, flew at each other until they came within four paces, when they turned round without touching, and we could never get them to attack again.

The Spaniard having been buried,[1] and the wounded having been cured with a little grease,[2] we continued the march, with much difficulty, owing to the bays and inlets of the sea. The Governor suffered more than can be imagined in seeking out a road, which was made so much longer by these obstacles, while the want of provisions and of shoes disheartened his people. Besides this the wounded had to be carried, some of them on the backs of their comrades. These wounded men did not want to go on, but to be left to die among some reeds. Being unable to do anything else, they were left behind, to the grief of the others. In marching, the men only had the fruit and wild celery to eat, and some were ready to faint, so, to comfort them, Pedro Sarmiento killed a goat,[3] and divided a quarter of it among the weaker men every morning, without giving the strong men a mouthful, or taking one himself. This being done, the infirm gained strength to march, thanks be to God. Goat's flesh, which does not agree with healthy

[1] His name was Lope Baér, a native of Badajos, and a respectable married man.

[2] A fire was lighted, and the wounds were cauterized, grease being then applied, bandages being made with strips of cloth from the men's shirts. The wounded were then given mouthfuls of preserved ginger. They were then helped along by the arms, which was hard work for the other soldiers.—*Pernambuco Report.*

[3] He was taking seven goats for breeding purposes.

people, does good to the sick and wounded. Pieces of the skin were served out to those who were bare footed. Thus we pushed on, circling round the bays and arms of the sea, and marching over trackless mountains with the compass always in hand, until we came once more to the shores of the Strait. All this time there were murmurs against Pedro Sarmiento by those who said that he took the wrong way, that they would never find the ship, but would die without help. Although Pedro Sarmiento knew this, he dissembled and encouraged them, following a route until he came to the coast of the Strait.

Having marched 70 leagues by land, which would have been scarcely 30 by the Strait, we arrived at the wooded country, where there are good rivers, and many shells, containing pearls, on the beach. Here we left the land of the tall natives, and reached that of the small people, where they killed some deer, of which there are many, with wholesome and well-flavoured meat. The men were thus refreshed, while those who were still bare-footed made sandals of the skins. For now almost all were bare-footed, and many would have had no feet left, if it had not been for a bag of shoes of cowhide which the Governor brought, having been made in Jesus, each pair costing more than three ducats. These relieved the sufferings of the weakest and most necessitous. There were some who had so little confidence that they secretly fled into the woods, and remained there hidden, to die.[1] To prevent this, Pedro Sarmiento imposed the penalty of death on him who should see a comrade fall out and not report it. In this way the evil was remedied, and some of those who had concealed themselves to die were brought back.[2]

[1] One soldier, named Lorano, hid himself in the bushes and could not be found.—*Pernambuco Report.*

[2] Three of the best dogs had also fallen out, and dropped behind, too tired to proceed.

Marching along the beach in great affliction at not seeing the ships, a new trouble fell upon us. In the trees there were some bunches of green and soft nuts, smelling like chestnuts. The soldiers, finding them pleasant to the taste, ate them like bread. But, in many cases, they had the effect of stretching the belly almost to bursting, and they were like stones in the stomach.[1] With this, and their despondency, the men were so downhearted that, on the 23rd March, they all said that they could not go another step further, but that they would wait were they were, either for the mercy of God, or for death. Then most of the men threw themselves on the ground. Who can imagine the feelings of the Governor, seeing his comrades, whom he loved as himself, quite despondent and without confidence, and hearing the groans and miseries of the sick, wounded, and tired? He gave each one a mouthful of meat and some roots, and spoke to them to encourage them, pointing to a cape, not three quarters of a league distant, and promising that, with the favour of God, before they reached it, which was called Santa Ana, they would find the ship.[2] He said they should rest were they were,

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[1] This may, perhaps, be the fruit of the beech tree, of which there are two kinds, *Fagus antarctica* and *Fagus betuloides*.

[2] He made them a long speech, which is given in the Pernambuco Report. In order to arouse their pride, he told them the story of Pizarro having drawn a line upon the sand with his sword at the isle of Gallo, calling upon those who dared to follow him, to cross to his side. He said that only twelve dared to cross the line, who suffered every kind of misery with Pizarro until Almagro came to their rescue, when they gained immortal honour by the conquest of Peru. He then told them how Cortes had burnt his boats, to prevent all possibility of retreat, and thus gained undying fame; and he also described the desperate march of Cortes through Honduras. His next examples, for their edification, were Blasco Nuñez de Balboa when he marched across the isthmus of Darien, Pedro de Alvarado in Guatemala, Cabeza de Vaca in Florida, Benalcazar in Popayan, and Valdivia in Chile. He deduced an impressive moral lesson from

with the ensign Guernica, and that he would go on with those most able to march, and would return to them. But all believed this to be impossible. So next day Pedro Sarmiento set out at daybreak, with ten or twelve of his own servants, taking leave of the rest. Before they had gone two hundred paces along the beach, they came in sight of a boat coming towards them. Presently Sarmiento made out it was the ship's boat, and sent the news back, which so raised the spirits of all the men that they got up, and came down to the beach, some limping, and others on all fours, to where the boat had now arrived, to the great joy of all the people. They embraced the boatmen, who said that the ship was in a port, at the distance of an arquebus shot from where they were.

Pedro Sarmiento sent for biscuit and meat, and wine, which was quickly supplied, and he gave each man a mouthful and a drink of wine, whereby they were comforted and made joyful. The wounded and most feeble were put into two boats, while the Governor, with the others, went by land to another bay where the people of the ship were camped in small huts. With great delight they embraced each other and gave thanks to God at having escaped such imminent danger of death. Those of the ship also gave thanks, for they ran great risks in the second narrow, and were nearly lost on the rocks. After that Captain Suarez went away in the boat, sounding and seeking for a harbour, until he found the same one which Pedro Sarmiento had instructed him to seek. He then went back to look for the ship which had been left in charge of the pilot. He was a bad sailor, and as incapable as a landsman to find a port, on account of which there

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these heroic deeds ; but he could not induce the worn out soldiers to shake off their feelings of despair.

were conspiracies to kill the captain, as was made known afterwards.[1]

Pedro Sarmiento presently set to work to cut wood, and made a large hut with his own hands, in which all the people he had brought with him found shelter. The wounded and sick were sent on board ship to be cured and to receive the necessary comforts. Thus all were cared for, and only one died, besides three on the road, one having been killed by the natives, one hid himself, and a third could not be carried further, and was left to die.

Pedro Sarmiento arrived on the 20th March 1584, and having made arrangements both for the sick and the healthy, he, on another day, examined the neighbouring sites as far as the river of San Juan and the bay of Santa Brigida, where he had been when he came from Peru the first time. There he found all the signs, in the shape of crosses and cairns, which he had then left. But the cross he had set up on the point of Santa Ana had been blown down by the wind. He even found a dagger which was lost by one of the men there, when they landed to take possession for his Majesty. Along all the route we had traversed by land, from the city of Jesus to this place, there are a hundred leagues, counting the circuitous marches round the bays, and there are no large rivers, but only rivulets of sweet water. Whence it is proved that there is no other opening to the North Sea, besides that in 52° 30′, as has been said, by which Pedro Sarmiento has entered and gone out five times. Thus the malicious ignorance of Diego Flores is refuted, when he said that this was not the opening by which Pedro Sarmiento came out, when he made the voyage from Peru. He said this

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[1] The captain was Juan Suarez de Quiroga, the acting pilot Antonio Gonzalez, the boatswain Antonio Vidal, and the crew consisted of 29 sailors, besides boys and pages, in all 52.

to excuse himself for not having had the courage to enter it when he was there, wishing to turn and run away as he did. Further, the sinister information sent from England by Don Bernardino is also confuted, to the effect that there were many mouths, and that Drake had used one from the bay of San Julian, as has already been mentioned. Touching this matter, there is no truth except what Pedro Sarmiento certified, and this is most certain, without any doubt.

Having investigated the surrounding coasts, and ascertained that there was no more convenient place for a port, or for obtaining timber for building and for conveyance to the projected fort at the first narrow, a distance of twenty-five leagues, which can be traversed by sea in the period of one tide or a little more, it was also found that the country abounded in large deer, which stood until they were approached quite close. One soldier got five fawns in an hour, and many birds, which is a sign that there is plenty of fruit in the woods. It is still more worthy of notice that there are many flocks of green paroquets, which hitherto had only been seen in warm climates. There are also many shell-fish, insomuch that the boats were loaded with them in a short time every day. The soldiers and sailors cooked them in a stew with wild cinnamon. But many of them are full of pearls, and the people found it tiresome to pick them out, though they could not eat them without doing so. There is also plenty of fish, large and small.

When the ship arrived, there were huts of native fishermen, who fled. This is the frontier between the two races of Indians, the gigantic and the small men. The half of the land which is plain and open is towards the North Sea, and the mountainous and wooded half is towards the South Sea. For this and other reasons Pedro Sarmiento, with the general approval, selected this site for a settlement. On

the 25th of March 1584, with the divine grace and in the name of the most Holy Trinity, he took formal possession for your Majesty, selecting officers for a municipality, by whom the ordinary magistrates were elected and confirmed by the Governor in the name of your Majesty. The tree of justice was erected, and the city was traced out, receiving the name of the "King Don Felipe". Presently the church was commenced, with the name of "Our Lady of the Annunciation". A perpetual festival was instituted, to be held every year on that day, with vespers and a mass, in honour of the Annunciation and in memory of the founding of the city. The church was built of very fine timber, high and strong, the chapel of the high altar being of stone, which all the people brought on their backs, Pedro Sarmiento taking the lead. He who carried most was held in most honour, and the same with regard to cutting and leading the timber. The church was roofed with good rye straw, of which there was plenty near, which was brought by the boats. Divine service then began to be performed daily. The shops of the carpenters and blacksmiths were round the principal square. Next, the royal store house was commenced, 100 paces long, with thick and lofty forts of oak and beech timber, daubed with clay and roofed with straw. It would hold 500 men, and here were stored all the biscuit, flour, salt meat, wine, beans, powder, lead, rope, balls, steel, and other things which had been brought in the ship. They were delivered over to ensign Guernica, who was appointed storekeeper. Fixed rations were ordered to be served out,[1] for the supplies obtained by land

[1] Only 12 ounces of biscuit or flour and half a gill of wine, for each man, and nothing else. Without the shell-fish life could not have been sustained. But there were only 50 casks of flour, 12 of biscuit, 12 of wine, 2 of dried tunny fish, one of salt meat, one of bacon, and 4 small barrels of beans in store.

and sea supplied the want of things from Spain ; and all were satisfied and invigorated by the work.[1]

The church, royal store-house, and hospital, having been built, the town was traced out in form of a square, and surrounded by a fence. The houses and streets were then traced out in squares. In front was the sea shore, with a convenient port for loading and unloading the boats. On one side a secure port, at four *brazas* from low water, and on the other side another, with good, wholesome fresh water flowing into each, while around were many birds in beautiful groves of trees, affording much recreation in the summer time.

As soon as the houses were traced out, the people began to work at them with great diligence, building them of the same wood, with a coating of clay. They were lightly thatched for the sake of despatch, for it was now the end of April, and winter was approaching. Here the month of April corresponds with our October. In each house four comrades were lodged, the houses being given by lot, so as not to favour anyone. The municipal house was also traced out, the clergy house, and the site of a Franciscan monastery, at one side of the city. The view of the sea from the city was very pleasant. While the building wa progressing, ground was broken near the city for cultivation, and a quantity of beans and seeds of turnips and garden vegetables, and some grains of wheat, were sown.[2] The sowing of maize was put off until the weather was warmer. Presently all the seeds sprouted, which was a sign of a very fertile soil, as it is. The town was surrounded by pallisades, and a bastion was erected on the

[1] Sarmiento himself touched nothing but shell-fish.

[2] The wheat had all been ruined by salt water. The seeds which remained dry and good had been obtained by Sarmiento at Rio de Janeiro, and they soon germinated. These seeds were of turnips, radish, cauliflower, and lettuce.

sea face to defend the anchorage and the landing place Six pieces of artillery of 20 cwt. were planted on it, on a levelled platform. Ensign Francisco de Guernica,[1] an old soldier, was appointed Captain of Artillery, and the Captain Juan Suarez de Quiroga became Chief Magistrate and Mayor of the city.[2]

The people were well nourished with shell-fish, seals, and some small fish. There were many sardines and fish like hakes. There were also many vultures and other birds with wattled necks. Provision of fish was made for the winter.

It fell out that certain soldiers, who had been most honoured and favoured by the Governor, conspired to seize the ship, murder the captain, and return to the river Plate, forcing the pilot to take them. They delayed the execution of the plan while they decided who should be their leader; and also because Pedro Sarmiento, not without apprehension and mindful of past events, arranged that certain men in his confidence should be in attendance near the captain, and so be prepared. It was known that, when the ship was in danger in the Strait, some men wanted to return but they did not dare because the ship was aground and they knew not how to escape, but they had weapons in their hands with the intent of mutiny.

Among them there was a man, in the habit of a clergyman,[3] who had been taken at Rio de Janeiro, being a soldier, and released from prison to which he had been condemned for a serious offence. This man conspired with Antonio Rodriguez,[4] a native of Villacastin, to take to flight in the

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[1] Garnica in the Pernambuco Report.

[2] The people then elected two magistrates for the year, one named Simon Navarro, the other Diego Fernandez.—*Pernambuco Report.*

[3] Named Alonso Sanchez.

[4] Juan Rodriguez according to the deposition of Hernandez, made many years afterwards. But Sarmiento was doubtless right.

boat with the people who would mutiny, and they proceeded to corrupt many others, but it all came to the knowledge of Pedro Sarmiento. They intended to kill the Governor and all those who would not go with them. Antonio Rodriguez and the principal conspirators were arrested, and, in answering the accusation, they confessed. Justice was executed upon Antonio Rodriguez, his head being stuck on a pike. The others received lighter punishments.[1]

This being done, and the settlement having been pallisaded, the winter came on very suddenly. During fifteen days it never ceased to snow, and nearly all the trees lost their leaves in two days. A wonderful thing was then seen which was that, although all the other trees were bare of leaves, there were many as green as when it first began to snow. On going to see what trees they were, it was found that the snow had not reached them within a circuit of more than ten paces. On further investigation it was seen that the bark was like very strong cinnamon, and the fruit like that of the cloves of Gilolo. It was in flower during the proper season, and was like a wild jasmine, which fell after eight days and left a green clove, of the same size as those that are eaten, there being fourteen or sixteen at the end of each branch, and in the middle a thick mother clove. After twenty days the clove was red, and began to ripen and turn black. Pedro Sarmiento could not see it in the ripe state, because he came before the season.[2]

Pedro Sarmiento had promised the people of the city of Jesus to return and visit them after he had founded the second settlement. As well for this as with the object of beginning to convey some of the heavy artillery to the first

[1] The other ringleaders were Juan Alonso and Francisco de Godoy. The clergyman was named Alonso Sanchez.

[2] Probably the Winter's bark tree, *Drimys Winteri*, the bark of which tastes like cinnamon combined with pepper.

narrow, to commence the forts for defending the passage of the Strait, he embarked on board the ship with thirty men, leaving sufficient supplies in the city of Felipe, and got under weigh before daylight on the 25th of May. At this time a total eclipse of the moon occurred, of a pale yellow colour, the occultation lasting two hours and a half. This eclipse is not noted or calculated in the ephemerides for these parts.

On the same day Pedro Sarmiento reached the anchorage of the city of Jesus late at night, and sent to the city to give orders for embarkation of things which were to be taken to the city of Don Felipe. While this was being done such a furious gale sprang up that the single cable parted,[1] and the ship was driven out to sea without a chance of being able to return or to anchor again.[2] The storm increased and blew furiously for upwards of twenty days, so that the ship was forced to make for San Vicente or Rio de Janeiro, in Brazil, with only half a barrel of flour and roots. Some became blind from cold and hunger, others lost their fingers and toes.[3] In San Vicente Pedro Sarmiento sold his clothes to obtain food for the crew. Here the ship grounded, and Pedro Sarmiento, making an offering to our Lady of Guadalupe, it pleased God that she should be saved.

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[1] On Saturday, May 26th, 1584.

[2] Two men who had come on board from Jesus, were carried off, being unable to land again. They reported that, a few days after the Governor's departure from Jesus, Andres de Viedma had sent Iñiquez into the interior with forty men to discover the river Gallego. They explored its course and were returning when they were attacked by four bodies of natives. Ten Spaniards were wounded, and the native chief and his son were killed by shots from an arquebus. The natives then retreated. Flour was reserved for the sick, and the rest of the settlers lived on seals, shell-fish, and roots. There had been a mutiny, and the ringleader had been executed.

[3] Sarmiento arrived at Santos on the 27th of June. They only had six rations of flour left, and the men were gnawing sandals, and the leather of the pumps.

V.

Captivity of Sarmiento.

In Rio de Janeiro, Pedro Sarmiento[1] found letters from Diego de la Ribera, saying that he was shortly going to Spain, without taking the despatch from Sarmiento to your Majesty, and that he would leave at Rio the stores which had been brought there in the frigates, and which belonged to the Strait.

Pedro Sarmiento, with the help of the Governor, Salvador Correa, arranged for a vessel laden with flour to be sent to the Strait, with a pilot who had been left at Rio by Diego de la Ribera.[2] Leaving a general message, and having made a cable of the bark of trees and got an anchor, Sarmiento departed for Pernambuco[3] to obtain a supply of tar, provisions, and clothing to take with him to the Strait. In order to effect the purchases, he took with him a 1,000 cwts. of Brazil dye wood in the ship. Not being able to cross the bar into the port of Pernambuco owing to want of depth, more than 300 cwts. were thrown overboard by the advice of Martin Corballo, your Majesty's surveyor. Even after that there was no pilot who could take the ship in, until Pedro Sarmiento got into the boat and went ahead to sound, making signals to the ship with a flag. The ship followed and entered safely, together with a large ship from

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[1] Sarmiento left Santos for Rio de Janeiro on Wednesday, the 3rd of July 1584.

[2] His name was Gaspar Conquero. The stores left by Diego de la Ribera consisted of some iron and lead, powder, balls, nails, and copper. They were used for the purchase of provisions.

[3] On August 14th, 1584, arriving at Pernambuco on September he 16th.

Bahia laden with sugar, on board of which was Gabriel Suarez, who is now at this court.

In Pernambuco, the Royal Purveyor, having seen the orders of your Majesty, and the correspondence, supplied some clothes and baizes, some barrels of wine, twelve boxes of tar, and other necessaries, with which Pedro Sarmiento determined to proceed to Bahia to refit the ship, and buy flour and hides for the Strait. He gave Martin Carballo 700 cwt. of Brazil wood for the stores, with which many things were paid for what had been taken, and an entry was made in the royal book, signed by Pedro Sarmiento and the notaries.

While he was there, such a scandal took place in the city between Martin Carballo and the Bishop of Brazil on one side, and Martin Leyton, the Chief Justice, on the other, that the negociation, on the part of Captain Francisco Morejon, ended in an appeal to arms, including the clergy and all the people. If Pedro Sarmiento had not been there it would have ended in many deaths. For the said Pedro Sarmiento, sword in hand, went before the Court of Justice in the Rua Nova, where more than 500 people were assembled in battle array, and succeeded in appeasing them by persuasive words. He also calmed down the Chief Justice, who wanted to arrest Martin Carballo in the house of the Bishop, and induced them to make friends for the time, which was a notable service to God and your Majesty ; touching all which, and a report of what afterwards happened, I sent, in two parcels to your Majesty, by way of Lisbon.

Leaving Pernambuco for Bahia in the end of September,[1] Pedro Sarmiento arrived near the port of Bahia, and, as he

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[1] His detailed report to the King, from Pernambuco, dated September 18th, 1584, was duly received, and has been preserved ; but it remains in manuscript.

was about to enter, a great storm arose, which drove the ship on to the shore, dashed her to pieces, and she presently filled with water. Pedro Sarmiento got the boats out, and put all the people who could not swim into them, that they might be saved. He remained on board to the last, at the mercy of God, with a few who could swim, that he might help them. On reaching the shore the boats were dashed to pieces, so that there could be no return to the ship and no human help. Sarmiento nailed two boards together and he and a priest got on them and left the ship. But the seas were so heavy that they were nearly stifled a thousand times. Holding on to the boards, Pedro Sarmiento received many wounds on his body and legs from the nails. All who could swim abandoned him, except a negro of his own, yet God was pleased that, through His infinite mercy, he should be saved, to whom be many thanks for ever and ever. He lost all he had in the ship except two or three barrels of wine, and a small piece of artillery. Presently the ship broke up, and Pedro Sarmiento beheld the loss and found that some were drowned. He consoled the survivors as well as he could. During that day and the following night they went without eating or drinking, for they had nothing. He wrote to some monks, who were at a distance of four leagues, asking for succour. One of them came with some Indians and flour, with which they were consoled. They then made their way to an estate, four leagues distant, where they rested for two days. The Governor of Bahia sent an officer to visit Pedro Sarmiento and bring him to the city, where he arrived, with his companions, on the 3rd of October. All were kindly received by the Governor, and by your Majesty's Factor. Pedro Sarmiento asked the favour of being enabled to return to the Strait, and they gave him a vessel of 160 tons, with 600 *alcahices* of mandioc flour, and some cloth and other things for the Strait. He took many stores on credit, and

from one man alone, named Pedro de Arce, he bought 600 ducats worth of powder, and other things. The said powder belonged to your Majesty, and had the royal mark on it. When Diego Flores was here with the ships it must have been stolen and sold, and I bought it at half a ducat the pound.

Having got this vessel ready, and saved a piece of artillery of the two lost in the ship, and having given account of all, to be kept by your Majesty's purveyor, and written to your Majesty and to your Council of the Indies by the hand of the Governor, Manuel Tellez Barreto, Pedro Sarmiento left this port and went to that of Espiritu Santo, where he obtained some cotton cloth, and 200 *arrobas* of dried beef. A Portuguese named Coutinho was Governor, who was zealous in the service of your Majesty, and had recently resisted the ships of the Englishman, Frentons,[1] when he arrived here, after being repulsed at San Vicente. It is understood that he sustained some damage.

From this port Pedro Sarmiento again sent an important despatch, and departed for Rio de Janeiro on the 13th of January. It was a month since the vessel had been despatched to the Strait with flour and other stores, as well as with the munitions that had been left at Rio, and some sheep for breeding. We set out for the Strait at a stormy season, from the desire to lose no time in succouring our companions, for the service of God and your Majesty. We sailed in fine weather until we reached the 33rd degree, when we encountered a gale from the west and south-west, which was so furious that it was judged to be the worst and most terrible we had seen. All the elements seemed to be entangled together. The thunder and lightning broke over our heads, so low and horrible, that it seemed as if the sea had opened an abyss of flame. We were all amazed

[1] Fenton.

and without feeling. Looking at each other, we could not recognise those nearest to us. Every sea threatened to overwhelm us, and one struck the port quarter of the poop, sending the starboard side under the sea. Then we all thought we must be drowned, and we called to God for help. The sheep and everything on deck, including boxes of cloth and hide, were thrown overboard. The ship then began to right itself, by the mercy of God, and we ran with bare poles whithersoever the sea might take us. The blows from the sea were so terrible that they tore open the bulwarks, and washed over the deck of the poop. Seeing no human remedy, we again commended ourselves to God, and threw overboard most of the flour. Passing grass cables under the ship, we secured them above with hawsers and hove taught on the capstan. In this manner, with wind S.W., we ran before an increasing storm for fifty-one days, until we entered Rio de Janeiro, thanks be to God who saved us from this danger, as from others.

Having arrived nearly naked and bare-footed, with the vessel knocked to pieces, we had one more disappointment, which was that the barque, which had sailed with flour for the Strait, had also returned owing to bad weather. On seeing her Pedro Sarmiento was ready to burst with rage, but he considered that in the various and sudden events of the world, many must be irreparable, and we must submit to the will of God, whose works and secrets are marvellous and incomprehensible. He presently caused several masses to be said for all, and turned his attention to the needs of the ship. In order to pay the officers he sold everything, down to the shirts, in which he was assisted by the Governor, Salvador Correa, a good servant of your Majesty. There were no nails, so Pedro Sarmiento and his companions pulled to pieces a ship that had been wrecked and, having burnt her, they got all her old nails, from which they made new ones, and boarded the ship afresh. As

there was no tar, a man was sent to Bahia, where there is plenty, and it is cheap on credit. The Governor waited until April, for before that it would not be the season for making a passage to the Strait.

The skins belonging to Pedro Sarmiento did not suffice to sustain the people, who numbered thirty-two, including officers. He, therefore, sold all that remained of the cloth for the Strait, at good prices, and with the proceeds maintained the people with rations of cassava flour, meat, fruit, treacle beer, and fish.

The tar having arrived, the grease was wanting. So Pedro Sarmiento gave orders to the sailors to kill some whales. They caught two in the port, from which a quantity of grease and oil was taken, for which the sailors were paid, and with this and the tar the ship could be refitted.

In addition to all these calamities, another befell Pedro Sarmiento, and not the least. It was that the sailors, although they had received food, clothing, and pay, not wishing to remain, became so disaffected that they determined to seize Pedro Sarmiento and kill him. Knowing the facts, Sarmiento apprehended the chief mutineer between decks; but next day, when he was at mass, the others broke open the door of the prison and released him. When Pedro Sarmiento was informed of this, he came promptly to the ship with his servants, and went on board. He found the mutineers in arms, in open rebellion and without shame. They disowned the service of your Majesty, and showed their desire to seize the ship and go off with her. Although Pedro Sarmiento spoke gently to appease them, it was not sufficient. Seeing this, he would not yield to force. He drew his sword and drove them all below with blows, wounding the most audacious, and giving the pilot, who was secretly at the head of it, a sword thrust. He seized the man and put him with the rest, who

numbered twenty-three or twenty-four. He disarmed them and made them more yielding than wax. The worst delinquent was sent to the fort of San Vicente. When the others thought they were going to be punished, he pardoned them and treated them well, for it was no time for rigour, but rather for indulgence, otherwise he would have been left alone and without sailors. He considered that such hardships had made them despair, and they might say that, taking example from Diego Flores, as he had turned back, they also wished to return. A pilot and an ensign had already taken to flight, who had been left by Diego de la Ribera to return to the Strait.

Finally, Pedro Sarmiento, seeing that the time was passed, and that now no means of returning to the Strait with help could be got in Brazil, and having done all that was possible, with the concurrence of the Governor, Salvador Correa, of the Chamber of that city, and of the general public, he came to the resolution that the most necessary and indispensable thing was to return and give an account to your Majesty of what had happened, that, being informed, order might be taken to provide what would be best for the royal service in those parts. With evidence and proofs of everything, he set out for Spain on the 26th of April, arriving at Bahia on the 14th of May very ill, but always on deck, apprehending some insubordination from the sailors.

The Governor of Bahia asked for help in the shape of ammunition, because the Indians had killed many people, and he intended to make war on them. Pedro Sarmiento, out of his poverty, gave the Governor six barrels of powder.

We left Bahia on the 22nd of June 1586, and on the 11th of August Pedro Sarmiento was between the islands of Terceira and San Jorge. Here he encountered three

English vessels,[1] which together had thirty-four pieces of artillery and 170 musketeers and arquebusiers, with two armed launches. They surrounded us and fired some rounds from the cannons, and many rounds of musketry. Without power either to resist or to escape, with only twenty inefficient men as a crew, Sarmiento was taken prisoner and robbed of the little he had. He and his men were stripped and brought on board the *Capitana* of the English frigates, where they were stripped to the skin, and tortured with fire and twisted cords in such a way that the ends of their fingers were maimed and broken. This was done to make them say whether they carried silver or money. The English captain then wanted to let Pedro Sarmiento go, for some provisions he would supply, but the same Portuguese pilot he had brought with him, betrayed him and said who he was, even exaggerating his importance, to do him more harm. On this the ship and the rest of the crew were allowed to go, while Pedro Sarmiento, the pilot, and two others were taken to England.

We arrived at Plymouth in the end of August, where Pedro Sarmiento was kept a prisoner and nearly naked until the 11th of September. On that day the general, John Hawkins,[2] arrived at Plymouth with twenty-two ships, galleons and frigates of the Queen, carrying 4,000 men for sea and land service. They were going to cruise and commit robberies on the coast of Spain. When they

[1] It was in 1584 that Sir Walter Raleigh sent his first expedition to Roanoke : when the Queen gave the land the name of Virginia, and knighted Raleigh. Sir Richard Grenville took out a colony in 1585, returning in October ; and in the following year Sir Francis Drake came to the settlement and took the colonists home. He arrived in England on the 27th of July. In the meanwhile Sir Walter Raleigh sent out three vessels in 1586, under the command of Sir Richard Grenville, who returned in August. It must, therefore, have been Grenville's squadron which captured Sarmiento on its way home.

[2] Juan de Aquines.

arrived it was four days since the English pirate named Thomas Cavendish[1] sailed for the Strait with five ships, having sold all his property to fit them out. After eight days he arrived at Artamua,[2] and, hearing that the Strait was fortified, he determined to postpone his expedition, as he did then, but when he heard of the imprisonment of Pedro Sarmiento in France, he again determined to start, and sailed from England for the Strait.

Pedro Sarmiento apprised your Majesty of all this from England, by way of Lisbon, sending his letter in a Venetian ship which was wrecked off Cape Finisterre. After his imprisonment at Plymouth, they took him to Hampton Court[3] on the 14th of September, and thence to Windsor[4] on the 15th of the same month, where Queen Elizabeth of England was. He who had charge of him presented him to a gentleman usher of the Queen,[5] who was owner of the ships that made him prisoner, and he received the prisoner very courteously. Conversing with him in Latin, Pedro Sarmiento made himself so agreeable that God was served by his gaining the captor's good will, who began to show him honour and to sit by his side.[6] He gave the prisoner

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[1] Teloriscandi. Cavendish left Plymouth with three vessels, the *Desire* (120 tons), *Content* (60 tons), and *Hugh Gallant* (40 tons), on July 21st, 1586. Sarmiento's information was, therefore, incorrect. He was in the Strait, and visited Sarmiento's city of Don Felipe, which he called "Port Famine", in January 1587.

[2] ?

[3] Antones.

[4] Guinsar.

[5] Sir Walter Raleigh.

[6] Speaking of the fictions of map makers, in his *History of the World*, Sir Walter Raleigh says:—"To which purpose I remember a pretty jest of Don Pedro de Sarmiento, a worthy gentleman who had been employed by his King in planting a colony upon the Streights of Magellan; for when I asked him, being then my prisoner, some question about an island in those Streights, which methought might have done either benefit or displeasure to his enterprise, he told me merrily that it was to be called the "Painter's Wife's Island", saying that

a special house, and a gentleman who spoke Spanish to attend on him, to accompany him, and keep guard over him. Don Antonio of Crato[1] took such offence at this companionship and friendliness, all his reliance being on Sir Walter Raleigh,[2] that he strove to disturb it, as he afterwards did.

Don Antonio complained to the Queen of this friendship, saying that Pedro Sarmiento was said to be illegitimate, and that, being under his protection, he was under an obligation to give him satisfaction, and that not doing so he would teach him a game that would cost him his life. The Queen became angry, and ordered Sir Walter to put Pedro Sarmiento in prison. Then Sir Walter spoke to the Queen in favour of Sarmiento, in such wise that the anger she felt against him was turned against Don Antonio. In consequence of this Don Antonio plotted to kill Pedro Sarmiento by means of a Portuguese, his favourite, named Antonio de Vega, who is now at this court. But he warned a Portuguese merchant in London, named Bernaldo Luis, who is also now at this court, and he passed on the warning to Pedro Sarmiento. Thus it was that the intention of Don Antonio had no effect.

The Queen expressed a wish to speak with Pedro Sarmiento, who was called up to London for the purpose, and he conversed with her in Latin for more than two hours and a half, in which language she is proficient. What passed on that occasion is reserved for a more particular report, and for the information of your Majesty alone. Pedro Sarmiento also conversed with the Lord Treasurer and President of the Council, Lord Burleigh,[3]

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whilst the fellow drew that map, his wife, sitting by, desired him to put in one country for her that she, in imagination, might have an island of her own."—Vol. II, Book II, Chap. xxiii, p. 327 (Ed. 1736).

[1] The Portuguese pretender.

[2] Guaterales.

[3] Burgulley.

who is well known to your Majesty, on the same subject as with the Queen. The Admiral[1] and Sir Walter also treated with Pedro Sarmiento, as your Majesty has already been informed, and on which a report will be made. This done, and other important matters being settled, by the grace of the Queen a passport was given to Pedro Sarmiento, with leave to proceed to Spain and to return to England if it should be necessary for the object contemplated. Having given him a present of a thousand *escudos* in pieces and pearls, which Bernaldo Luis lent to Sir Walter, Pedro Sarmiento left London on the 30th of October 1586, having received much courtesy in that land from all sorts of people, thanks be to God. It may be taken that the wish of the Queen to set Pedro Sarmiento at liberty was the sign of a desire to humiliate herself to your Majesty from fear.[2]

He came to Calais, and went thence to Dunkirk in Flanders to see if there was any despatch to convey to your Majesty, and to apprise the Duke of Parma respecting affairs in England that it was proper he should know, and that he might take order about certain things relating to the war, as he did. Having visited that port and M. de la

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[1] Lord Howard.

[2] It seems likely that Queen Elizabeth, in her conversation with Sarmiento, entrusted him with some conciliatory verbal message to Philip, intended as a basis for negotiations. The imprisonment of Sarmiento in France prevented the message from being delivered, and when he was released in 1589, the Spanish Armada had been defeated, and the face of things was entirely changed. The Queen's declaration of October 1st, 1585, had virtually been a declaration of war with Spain. In December Leicester had landed, and in September 1586 the battle of Zutphen was fought. But it was a hazardous proceeding, the Queen desired peace if it could be obtained with honour, and she was doubtless glad of an opportunity to communicate privately with Philip. The release of Sarmiento without ransom, and with a passport and a present of money, points to something of this kind.

Mota in Furnes, he returned to Calais, where he communicated with M. de Gordan, the Governor of that town for the King of France. Pedro Sarmiento found the Governor to be informed respecting the affairs of your Majesty, often pressing Sarmiento's hand, whereby he felt that officer's great regard for our nation. Sarmiento showed his pleasure by the usual ceremonies, at which Gordan made known his satisfaction by doing the same.

Pedro Sarmiento arrived at Paris on the 21st of November, and was nine days with the Ambassador Don Bernadino de Mendoza, who advanced money for his journey. Continuing his journey by post, with the concurrence of the Ambassador, and carrying his packets for your Majesty, he arrived at Bordeaux. Between that town and Bayonne he was taken prisoner, on the 9th of December, by a Captain de Vendome, Viscount of Bearne, and a company of arquebusiers, while he was sleeping in an inn. On the 11th they took him to the town of Mont Marsan, where Vendome is the Viscount, and presented him to M. de Castelnau,[1] the commandant who resided there with five companies as a garrison, fifty cuirassiers, and loose horsemen, with which forces he made war on the catholics of the towns of Dax and St. Sever,[2] where a valorous catholic, named M. de Poyarne, is governor, who waged war on heretics and their abettors.

When Pedro Sarmiento was made prisoner they collected the packets that were for your Majesty and his own papers; and the interpreter, who acted as his guide, a native of Irun, in order that he might be released, said that Pedro Sarmiento was a great personage, much more important

[1] Michel de Castelnau, Baron de Jonville, was Ambassador in England, and died in 1592, author of the *Mémoires de Castelnau*. The commandant of Mont Marsan may have been his son Jacques or a cousin, Mathurin de Castelnau, Seigneur de Rouvre.

[2] Towns on the Adour, above Bayonne.

than he really was, that they had better guard him well, for that they would get a large ransom for him. The man's name is Ramos, a servant of Juan de Arbelaez, the postman at Irun. May God pardon him for the mischief he did.

A few days afterwards they killed the captain and soldiers who captured Pedro Sarmiento, owing to which there were differences between the colonel and the other captains, and Vendome himself, over which of them should eat up the poor prisoner. Pedro Sarmiento wrote to the Viscount of Bearne, who was in Rochelle, giving him to understand the injury that had been done when there was no war, on the contrary, that there was peace, confirmed and settled, between the crowns of France and Spain. He presented the passport of the Queen of England, his ally, which ought to be sufficient to let any one pass free through an allied and confederate country. He entreated that, on these grounds, he might be set at liberty, thus undoing the wrong that had been committed. The said Vendome replied to Pedro Sarmiento with feigned courtesies, saying that he had not the power to do what was requested, because he had given him to the relations and friends of M. de la Noue for the liberation, in exchange, of his son Telini,[1] taken in Flanders, and of the father of M. de la Noue,[2] who, on his faith, had

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[1] Teligny was a son-in-law of the Admiral Coligny, and held St. Quentin in 1557. He was killed or desperately wounded in a sortie. For, in the *Memoirs of Sully*, he is said to have been killed at the massacre of St. Bartholomew in 1572. The prisoner mentioned in the text as a son-in-law of De la Noue may have been a son of Coligny's son-in-law.

[2] François de la Noue was taken prisoner at an action near Ingelmunster in 1580. He was not only one of the most experienced soldiers, but one of the most accomplished writers of the age, so that his capture was a great blow to William of Orange. The States in vain offered Count Egmont and other prisoners in exchange. De la Noue remained for five years in a loathsome dungeon at Limburg

given your Majesty his word not to make war. Pedro Sarmiento replied to the said Vendome, and to Colonel Castelnau, that they had not adopted a good way of getting what they wanted, because the exchange was unworthy of being entertained, Sarmiento being a man of peace, and Telini a man of war taken with arms in his hands, perpetrating his illegality *in flagrante*, and that your Majesty would take no more account of such a proposition than of a worm. Had I been a great Lord of Spain, I should sooner be left to be burnt alive by them, and this they should well know, or they would be altogether deceived, for instead of obtaining the liberty of Telini, they would secure the death of both.

After all they compelled Sarmiento to petition your Majesty, which he did much against his will. Pedro Sarmiento spoke to the said Vendome in Marsan, and gave him the letters he had received in reply from this court. Above all they wanted to force him to continue to urge his petition. Pedro Sarmiento answered them that he would die in the prison before he would importune one whom he was bound to serve, on which Colonel de Castelnau insolently gave expression to some irrelevant words against the authority of a monarch whom Pedro Sarmiento loves more than himself. Unable to stand this Sarmiento challenged him with the weapons at his hand, on which M. de Castelnau was so aghast that he did not answer a word. If Pedro Sarmiento had not done this, he would deserve to be branded as a disloyal and recreant knight, and an unworthy servant of your Majesty, though there may be some who would condemn it as temerity.

For this Pedro Sarmiento was disliked by the heretics,

Castle. In June 1585 he was exchanged for Egmont, at least eighteen months before Sarmiento was captured. So that this was only an excuse about De la Noue ; the real person whose release was sought, was the son-in-law Telini (or Teligny?).

which for him was honour and glory, and all the more, the more it was made public. It took place before all the gentlemen of that town, and before one Christoval de Morales, a Spaniard known to Don Juan de Idiaquez. Presently the permission was withdrawn to go to mass; he was put under lock and key, his guards were doubled, and he was threatened with death at every moment. But God watched over him in the cruel prison, where the damp crippled him, where his hair turned grey, and he lost his teeth. For a change and alleviation they took him to a castle, and immured him in infernal darkness, deprived of all human communication, and accompanied by the music of toads and rats in the castle ditch. The place where he was thus imprisoned was so fetid that those who brought him food were unable to endure it. He was here for thirteen more months, sentenced either to pay 5,000 *escudos* and four horses, or to be thrown into the river, as was done to others, his countrymen, every day. After many disputes over it they definitely announced that the sentence was 6,000 *ducats* and four select horses, or death. Understanding this, and that he might not perish miserably among heretics, and for another chance of doing some service to God and to your Majesty, he accepted, confident in the mercy of God and the magnanimity of your Majesty, to whom I humbly prayed that your Majesty would redeem me, not for any merit of my own, for I have none, but that by reason of your Majesty's admirable liberality, bounty, and mercifulness, your Majesty would see fit to succour me, and deliver from this hell, from which only God and your Majesty can deliver me, for the ministry of good Christians, zealous of God's honour and for your Majesty's service.[1] Glory to God who brought me before the presence

[1] There are two letters of Sarmiento from his prison at Mont Marsan, in the *Archivo General de Indias*. One is addressed to the Royal

of your Majesty, with a heart as ready as ever, and more, if more is possible, for the royal service in affairs most near to your Majesty's wishes. At present, in all humility, Pedro Sarmiento kisses your Majesty's feet and hands a thousand times, praying to Almighty God that, for so much humanity, liberality and mercy as your Majesty used towards him, providing the 6,000 *escudos* and four horses, in addition to many other mercies which during the imprisonment you conferred on him, He will see good to show His divine mercy to your Majesty, granting you His most holy grace, that, during many joyful years, you may govern your most Christian states and monarchy with increase to it, sustaining, as you have sustained, the most holy Catholic Church, and the catholic faith of our Lord Jesus Christ, whose protector and defender and only column your Majesty is, so that, at the end of your most propitious temporal life, you may be received by God into His celestial eternity.[1]

When the English captured Pedro Sarmiento between the islands of Terceira and Graciosa, seeing that escape was impossible, he threw many papers containing secrets of

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Secretary, Juan de Idiaquez, and is dated September 27th, 1589. It appears that money had been collected, among friends and relations, for the ransom ; but he represented that 5,100 *ducats* of his salary were still unpaid, and that 1,000 *ducats* were due to him for the government of Peru ; as well as 14,800 *ducats* for his grant in that country. All this being due to him, he entreats that the King will be pleased to advance the amount of the ransom. One Christobal de Morales was the bearer of the letters and of the ransom. The second letter, on the same subject, is addressed to the King himself, and dated from his prison of Mont Marsan, on October 2nd, 1589. The period of Sarmiento's captivity was the disturbed times at the end of the reign of Henry III of France. He called Henry of Navarre the King of Bearn. Henry III was assassinated on August 2nd, 1589, and Sarmiento appears to have been released in the following October.

[1] All the rest, from this place, is in Pedro Sarmiento's own handwriting, as well as the signature.—*Note by Muñoz.*

navigation and of discovery, reports, notices, and proofs, touching the expedition to the Strait, into the sea; especially a large book, containing descriptions in colour and in the art geographical of the mountains of the new discoveries and routes, that they might not fall into the hand of the enemy, lest, coming into their power, they might enable them to injure our navigation. A few that were in cypher were alone saved, as they would not be understood, some of which I have been able to ransom, and the rest I may be able to do over again in time and with the help of God.

It is necessary to make the following statement respecting the ships that were left in the Strait, the *Trinidad* and the *Maria*. The *Trinidad* having been broken up, the owner treated for a valuation, but Pedro Sarmiento had been nominated valuer by the owner of the ship. Before she could be valued Diego de la Ribera departed for Spain without taking the letters of Pedro Sarmiento, and in Rio de Janeiro Sarmiento heard that an excessive valuation had been put on the ships, respecting which Sarmiento felt great scruples of conscience, without saying anything at the time. Now he must inform your Majesty that there has been deception in this business, to the injury of the royal treasury, as well in this as in other things, both written and by word of mouth.

Pedro Sarmiento was made prisoner by English pirates when he was coming from the Strait and from Brazil to give an account to your Majesty of all that had happened connected with the expedition, and of the settlements that had been founded; to give information respecting the necessities of that land, and of the faithful, loyal, and constant subjects of your Majesty who were left there, under such urgent need of being succoured and maintained, and that the Strait might be fortified in accordance with the wishes of your Majesty. Having been liberated from that

captivity, and coming back through Gascony, I was again taken prisoner by the heretics of Vendome, from which prison I advised your Majesty of affairs touching your royal service, and I especially entreated your Majesty to send succour to those loyal and constant subjects and cities of the Strait, which your Majesty will have done as a thing so important to the royal service, and because God has shown such pity and mercy by the hands of your Majesty in setting me at liberty so as to be able to make my supplications in person, and being bound by my duty to prosecute the matter, especially seeing what notable service to our Lord God and to Christianity is placed in charge of your mercy, whose service and satisfaction I seek and desire. Humbly, in the name of the said cities of your Majesty, I kiss your royal feet and hands, and entreat, for the love of our Lord God, may He be served continually, that other occupations and demands may not impede nor detain the help ; for the royal hand of your Majesty, with the favour of God, is more than enough for all. This business ought to be preferred to many others, because if this is impeded, the best work there is placed in jeopardy, and the purse which sustains all is put in danger.

Thus your Catholic Majesty is under an obligation of conscience to succour your subjects and cities, with whose service, under God, the royal crown of your Majesty will be sustained and preserved in those parts, and in the Indies of the South Sea, Molucos and Philippines, whence, in course of time, will result very great advantages, exceeding the present expense. For the execution of it, if this weak subject and servant of your Majesty can serve in anything *non recuso laborem* above all former work, with joyful countenance and prompt willingness, more now than formerly, it being more needful, I will embrace the work until my life's end. Certainly it is not convenient for the service of your Majesty that I should be called upon to

answer the faults of others, being scarcely able to give an account of my own. As my desire is that my will should not be different from your Majesty, this I will follow, with the favour of God, by sea and land, here and elsewhere, beseeching for the sake of the blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, that your Majesty will be mindful of your poor subjects, and that your Majesty will not be content to send some relief, but to continue until they are firmly established, to the terror of the enemies of God and of your Majesty, when that Strait is closed. For this I offer myself, with the help of God and of your Majesty, God giving me life. This I pray with such insistency because my conscience obliges me.[1] After I have brought it before your Majesty, it remains with your Majesty, to whom may Almighty God grant long life and health, with increase of power for His sacred service, and afterwards for heaven. Amen.

In the Escurial and San Lorenzo the Royal, 15th of December 1589. This humble subject and most loyal though unworthy servant kisses the feet and hands of your Majesty.

PEDRO SARMIENTO DE GAMBÓA.

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[1] Again, on November 21st, 1591, Sarmiento entreated the King to send succour to the abandoned settlers in the Strait. He also requested that his accounts might be adjusted, after deducting the cost of the ransom.

DECLARATION

WHICH,

By order of the Viceroy of Peru, DON FRANCISCO DE BORJA, Prince of Esquilache, TOMÉ HERNANDEZ made before a Notary respecting what happened in the settlements founded in the Strait of Magellan, by

PEDRO SARMIENTO DE GAMBÓA.

IN the city of the Kings, on the 21st of March 1620, the most excellent Lord Prince of Esquilache,[1] Viceroy of these kingdoms, said: that his Excellency had understood from a report made by the General, Don Ordoño de Aguirre, that Tomé Hernandez, resident in this city, came from Spain in 1581, in company with Diego Flores de Valdes and Pedro Sarmiento, to the discovery and settlement of the Strait of Magellan, where he lived two years and a half, until he embarked in the fleet of Thomas Candi,[2] an Englishman who passed into this sea; and that it was desirable for his Majesty's service to know and understand the width of the Strait as well at its opening as in the middle and at the other side, what bays, harbours, and anchorages it contains, and whether its navigation would be easy or difficult, as well as in what season of the year it can be passed, and

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[1] Don Francisco de Borjay Aragon, Prince of Esquilache, was a son of that Duke of Gandia who was canonized as San Francisco de Borja. The Prince was Viceroy of Peru from 1615 to 1621. He was a poet and a scholar, and he founded colleges for the education of noble Indians. Returning to Spain, he survived until 1658, when he died at Madrid, at the age of 76.

[2] Cavendish.

what winds are favourable or the reverse, and what islands and main lands border on the Strait, also what kind of people inhabit them, whether the countries are desert or inhabitable, and everything else bearing on the subject, in order that it may be more distinctly understood with scientific accuracy and sound knowledge. His Excellency, therefore, orders that the said Tomé Hernandez shall make a declaration in presence of his Excellency, and before Garcia de Tamayo, Chief Notary of Mines and Registers, and of the Royal Treasury.

(*Signed*) THE PRINCE DON FRANCISCO DE BORJA.
(*Before me*) GARCIA DE TAMAYO.

In the city of the Kings, on the 21st of March 1620, in the presence of his Excellency, the oath was taken before God our Lord, and the sign of the cross, in the prescribed form, by a man who said his name was Tomé Hernandez. He said that he was a native of Badajoz in Spain, and he promised to speak the truth. And being interrogated in accordance with the tenor of the above order, he said as follows :—

This witness being in Spain in the year 1580, people were taken, by command of his Majesty, to form a settlement in the Strait of Magellan, as well as to serve in the war of Chile. Diego Flores de Valdes was nominated as General of the fleet and of all the people who went out, as well to the Strait as to Chile. They fitted out twenty-three vessels for this service. Don Pedro Sarmiento embarked to go to the settlement, and Don Alonso de Sotomayor as Governor of Chile. This witness knew that the settlement, of which Pedro Sarmiento was in charge, was ordered to be formed in consequence of the report he had made of the Strait, for he had come out of it and come from these kingdoms to those of Spain. The General had

orders, after he had taken the soldiers to Chile, and after he had landed the people who came to settle in the Straits, to return with the fleet to Spain. In conformity with these orders they sailed from the port of San Lucar in 1581, and this witness embarked as a soldier on board the *Capitana* of the fleet, which was a ship called the galleass and named the *San Christoval.* All sailing in company they encountered a great storm in the Gulf of Yaguas,[1] owing to which it was necessary to return to Cadiz with the loss of seven vessels which were missing. There they were refitted, and again set out in search of the Strait. The first land they touched at was Cape Verde, where they took in water and other things necessary for the fleet, and presently sailed, continuing to navigate until they arrived at Rio de Janeiro in Brazil. They remained there for months hoping for better weather, and at the end of the four months they anchored in a port called San Vicente, which must be about 50 leagues further on than Rio de Janeiro. It was peopled by Portuguese, who told General Diego Flores de Valdes that the English had done them harm when they came there, and asked him to land some soldiers and artillery to protect them from the attacks of the enemy. He, therefore, landed a garrison and some cannons, and built a fort, leaving Hernando de Miranda, who had come out in the fleet, as Governor. At the end of a little more than six weeks, during which time they were in the port of San Vicente, they set out to go direct to the Strait, and sailed as far as 48°, the ships going more than 200 leagues over the sea. In this latitude a great storm arose which scattered the ships of the fleet. They ran before it under bare poles, and a ship named the *Arriola,* with 300 settlers on board for the Strait, foundered and

[1] The fleet encountered the storm outside the Strait of Gibraltar, between Cape Cantin and Cape St. Vincent.

went down with all hands. The storm lasted eight days, and when it abated the ships rejoined the *Capitana*, except the one that had been lost. This was in the latitude of the Rio de la Plata, which is in 38° a little more or less. Here the Governor, Don Alonso de Sotomayor, asked the consent of the General to proceed to Chile with his people, who were on board three of the ships, saying that, as they could not reach the Strait, he wished to continue the journey overland from the Rio de la Plata. His troops were landed at Buenos Ayres, and started from there for Chile.[1] The General Diego Flores went with his fleet to the island of Santa Catalina, and before arriving he lost a frigate which went on shore one morning.[2] She fired a piece of artillery, which was the cause that the whole fleet was not lost. The soldiers in the frigate got on shore with all the clothing, powder, and artillery, all was saved except the frigate, the soldiers remaining on shore by the lost ship. The fleet anchored in the port of Santa Catalina, which is three days' journey by land from the place where the frigate was lost. The whole way is a war-path frequented by Indians. The General, with his fleet, being in the port of Santa Catalina, anxious about what had become of the men who were left at the place where the frigate was lost, Captain Gonzalo Melendez,[3] who was on board the frigate, arrived by land with two women. They brought news that the soldiers had mutinied, not wishing to obey him who was their captain. He had reduced them to order, by good arguments, and they had agreed to leave the place where they were. At the end of about 15 days all the soldiers of the lost frigate came to the port where the

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[1] Don Alonso de Sotomayor, Marquis of Villa Hermosa, was Captain-General of Chile from 1584 to 1592.

[2] The *Santa Marta*. See page 252.

[3] He was captain of the *Santa Marta*.

General was. The ringleaders of the mutiny were taken into custody. They said that they had come retreating from the Indians. At first they had been regaled and well received. Afterwards the Spaniards had been deceived by a mestizo who had been brought from Rio de Janeiro in the frigate, and who had declared that the Indians intended to kill them. He advised that the Spaniards should kill the Indians when they came for them to eat. This they did, and when the rest of the Indians knew it, they attacked the soldiers, setting fire to the grass all round, so that there was no way open except along the sea shore.

After the mutineers had been punished, the fleet sailed in search of the Strait, and in leaving the port a ship, named the *Proveedora*, was lost. She was of about 500 tons. She was lost on a rock, but all the people were saved, losing the artillery and stores. The rest of the ships shaped a course for the Strait and, after some days of navigation, entered it with good weather, and anchored in the first narrow, off the point of San Geronimo,[1] where the width is about a league from shore to shore. This was the place where the forts were to be built. That night there was such a storm that the ships had to cut their cables and go to sea.

They returned to Rio de Janeiro, where they found four galleons which his Majesty had sent with supplies for the fleet, under the command of Diego de Arce.[2] Here the fleet assembled, and the ships were divided. The General, Diego Flores de Valdes, resolved to go to Bahia with the fleet, and to send Diego de la Ribera to the Strait, as General, with two or three frigates to convey the settlers. In short, Diego Flores intended to return to Spain. In accordance with his scheme the two ships and three frigates sailed from

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[1] He must mean San Gregorio.

[2] Diego de Alcega. See page 279.

Rio de Janeiro and went south to 40°, arriving on the coast of the Strait in January, having made a good voyage in fine weather. They entered the Strait for half a league, where Diego de la Ribera put the people on shore, as he did not want to enter the Strait any farther. One ship went on shore, the artillery and wet provisions being got out of her. Landing 280 men at this place, in charge of Captain Pedro Sarmiento, Diego de la Ribera departed, leaving no supplies except what was contained in one small vessel. At this same place a settlement was formed near the sea.[1] Thence Pedro Sarmiento despatched the small vessel up the Strait with some arms and a crew of sailors, with orders to wait at the point of Santa Ana until he reached that place by land. Being in this first settlement there came 250 natives with signs of peace. There were men and women of gigantic size, and they conversed with the Spaniards, who regaled them, after which they went away. Three nights afterwards they made an attack and fought with us for some time, some of our soldiers being wounded. Then Captain Sarmiento gave orders to Captain Iñiguez to march inland and find them. He came upon 220 natives, who came and spoke to the Spaniards in their own language, so that they were not understood. Their bosoms were searched to see if they carried any arms. The Captain of them took Captain Iñiguez by the hand and led him to the other natives, as if in friendship. The Spaniards thought that this was so, until Captain Iñiguez cried out that the natives were carrying him off. The soldiers then attacked them, killed several natives with their arquebuses, and recovered their captain. When they fired, the natives who were hit, shook the place as if what had struck them

[1] [Pedro Sarmiento called this first settlement "Nombre de Jesus". Perhaps it was founded on the cape to which he had given the same name.—*Sp. Ed.*]

would drop out. The women cried out, and made signs that the Spaniards should depart, which they did, and returned to the camp.

Leaving 300 men at the first settlement where what I have just related took place, Pedro Sarmiento set out by land with 80 soldiers, in search of the little vessel. Having gone about 10 leagues, they came to the wreck of a ship, and they found that the anchors were buried in the earth with only the flukes showing, and half a league from where the wreck was, they came upon a ship's mast thrust into the ground with a great pile of stone round it, and they could not stop to find out what it could be. Marching along the coast to the first narrow, eleven gigantic natives like the others met them. Pedro Sarmiento stopped and joined them, treating them in a friendly way, and asking them if they had seen a vessel pass that way a few days before. They replied by signs in the affirmative, and that it was eight days since they had seen her. After they had been half an hour with the Indians a Franciscan Friar, whom Pedro Sarmiento had brought with him, gave them to understand that Sarmiento was Captain of the Spaniards who had come. The native, hearing this statement answered that he himself was captain, striking his breast, and he showed anger that the Friar should have said that Sarmiento was captain. Going a little apart, he took an arrow out of his mouth, cut himself with it, spit some blood out, and coolly anointed his bosom with it. The Friar then told Pedro Sarmiento that they must depart from thence, because these natives were sorcerers and were deceived by the devil, and that it was better to go away. So they went on in search of the ship, and after a time they perceived that the natives, who had remained behind, were now following them, and coming near. The Spaniards went on without taking any notice, and the natives, seeing that twelve or fourteen Spaniards were marching behind

as a rear guard, shot arrows at them. The soldiers defended themselves with the arms they carried, although they could not use their arquebuses because the matches were packed up, that they might not be wasted. The natives killed an officer named Loperraez[1] and wounded eight soldiers with their arrows, who died afterwards. It was looked upon as certain that the arrows must have been anointed with poisonous herbs, for not one of the wounded ever recovered. The Spaniards killed the native Chief and the rest were badly wounded, taking to flight as Pedro Sarmiento returned to the rescue with his vanguard. Having attended to the wounded, and interred the officer, they passed the night there without being disturbed, and proceeded on their way next morning and for several following days. At the end of fifteen days since leaving the first settlement they found their little vessel anchored in a small port, with sufficient depth of water, but no inhabitants. On that day, which was St. Mark's day, when they found the ship at anchor in that port, it began to snow, and a site was sought out which seemed suitable, near the sea, where they formed a settlement, to which they gave the name of "San Felipe",[2] fortifying it and surrounding it with very strong timbers, but leaving an opening towards the sea, where two pieces of artillery were mounted. Two other gates were left towards the hills, each with two pieces of artillery.

The settlement having been formed, posts were established in convenient positions. After twenty or thirty days the people were getting worn out with hard work and hunger, and from want of proper clothing, and were becoming disgusted. One night, when this witness was visiting the posts as officer of the guard ("*cabo de es-*

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[1] Lope Baer. See page 322.

[2] Don Felipe. See page 328.

quadra"), he found a clergyman named Alonso Sanchez, at a late hour of the night, conversing with a soldier named Juan de Arroyo, who was on sentry. This witness was surprised that he should be occupied in such a way at so late an hour, and Juan de Arroyo admitted he was there without giving his name. This witness was angry, and reprehended them. The clergyman replied that for himself he did not need a name, and he walked off without another word. Seeing that this witness had gone away very angry, he sought him out, and when this witness asked what it was that he wanted, he answered that if he could keep a secret he would give him notice of a serious business, very profitable to all the soldiers. This witness gave the promise, and the clergyman told him it was discussed among all the soldiers to mutiny, and kill Captain Pedro Sarmiento, seize the ship, and return in it to Brazil, because their lives had become insufferable. This witness reported the affair to Pedro Sarmiento as soon as he landed from the ship, for he slept on board every night, for if he had not taken this precaution and had slept on shore, he would have been killed some days before. Having this knowledge, he dissembled and went on board again. He then sent for a soldier named Juan Rodriguez, a native of La Mancha, who was the ringleader of the mutiny, and, having him on board, he sent for three other soldiers, his comrades, whose names this witness does not remember, and put them under arrest. Then he sent for the clergyman, and took their confessions. They declared that it was true about the mutiny. So he took them on shore with scrolls on their backs declaring their treason, and caused them to be beheaded in the *plaza* from behind, and their heads to be stuck on poles.[1] The clergyman remained a prisoner on board. Having been two months in this second settlement

[1] Only one was executed, the ringleader Rodriguez. See page 331.

called "San Felipe", Pedro Sarmiento embarked on board the ship with the sailors and ten or twelve soldiers, and made sail, taking the clergyman as a prisoner. He left the settlement quiet and peaceful in charge of his nephew Juan Suarez, who remained as captain. He said that he was going for the rest of the settlers at the first settlement, to bring them to the other, and afterwards to proceed to Chile for provisions. He never more returned.[1]

Two months after Pedro Sarmiento had sailed from the second settlement with the object above mentioned, the people who had remained in the first settlement arrived, and all were collected at the second settlement. This was in August, which was winter, and they came by land. Their news was that Pedro Sarmiento had arrived with the ship at the anchorage of the first settlement, which is an open bay without any shelter. Then there was a great storm and, the ship being at anchor, they slipped the cables and made sail. No further news was heard of the ship in all the time that the Spaniards were in the Strait.

It was seen by Andres de Viedma, a native of Jaen, who had become captain of the people in the second settlement, and head of all the soldiers in both settlements in place of Pedro Sarmiento, that there was not sufficient food to support so many people. So he decided upon sending 200 soldiers, under the command of Juan Iñiguez, to the first settlement, with orders to pick up shell-fish, and get food in the best way they could. Their orders were to look out for any ship entering the Strait, that they might get help and give notice of the condition of the people in the second

[1] He went to Brazil for supplies, and once more sailed for the Straits. But his vessel was so disabled in a violent storm that he had to return to Rio ; where the Governor was unable to give him any more help. He consequently sailed for Spain, and was captured by an English vessel belonging to Sir Walter Raleigh, near the Azores. See page 340.

settlement. The rest of the people remained there with Andres de Viedma all the winter, and all the next summer, waiting for the return of Pedro Sarmiento. Seeing that so long a time had passed and that he never came, and that a second winter was coming on, and that the people were dying of hunger, they agreed to build two boats. This having been done, fifty men embarked in them who had survived in the second settlement, together with Captain Viedma, Captain Juan Suarez, and the Franciscan who was named Friar Antonio, but whose surname this witness does not remember,[1] and five Spanish women. Having navigated for six leagues down the Strait, they struck upon some rocks near point Santa Brigida, where one boat was lost. The cause of this accident was that there were no sailors on board, and not by reason of any bad weather. The people were saved, and all who embarked in both boats were landed. The captain considered that there was not room for all the people in one boat. The winter was coming on with great severity, and they had no provisions. The people were told to scatter and try to live on the shell-fish they could pick up along the beach; while Captains Viedma and Suarez, with the Friar and twenty soldiers, returned to the second settlement in the boat. This witness, and thirty men with him, and the five women, remained on the beach where Viedma left them, and wandered about all the winter, picking up shell-fish, at night taking refuge in huts they made, four in each. They kept apart along the coast so as to be able to support life. When summer returned, Captain Viedma sent for them to return to the settlement, and altogether fifteen men and

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[1] [Perhaps this Friar was Antonio Guadramiro, Chaplain of the *Nuestra Señora de la Esperanza*, who is so often mentioned by Sarmiento in his journal.—*Sp. Ed.*] This is a mistake. The Friar's name was Antonio Rodriguez.

three women assembled, including those who remained with Viedma and those who had been landed with this witness. All the rest had died of hunger and sickness which supervened through the sterility and rugged character of the land. These survivors agreed to go to the first settlement, and were journeying with this intention by land until they had passed the first narrow of the Strait at point San Geronimo.[1] Along the coast they found many dead bodies, being those of the soldiers sent by Viedma to the first settlement. Having passed point San Geronimo about four leagues, the survivors came in sight of four ships which were coming into the Strait in latitude 52° 30′ S. It was perceived that they had suffered from the weather, because the despatch boat[2] they brought with them was injured by the gale encountered outside the mouth of the Strait, owing to which two ships anchored in the bay, taking the southern side where there are soundings. That night the people who were on shore showed lights that the ships might see them, for it was supposed that they were Spanish ships, and they showed lanterns as a signal that they saw the lights. In the morning they made sail, and it was seen that a boat was manned which pulled along near the shore. This witness, seeing that they were going away, and that the boat did not come to the place where Captain Viedma and the survivors stood, asked permission to follow that boat, see who the people were, and tell them how it was with the survivors. The captain thought well of it, and this witness started with two other soldiers, named Juan Martin Chiquillo of Estremadura, and Juan Fernandez of Puentevedra. Having run for half a league, they put themselves in front of where the boat would pass, and made signs with a white flag. This having been seen by the

[1] He must mean San Gregorio.

[2] The *Hugh Gallant*.

boat's crew, they came to the beach, and this witness asked them what people they were. They answered in Spanish that they were English, and that they were going to Peru. Without asking any questions of those on shore, they said that if they liked to embark they could have a passage to Peru. Those on shore replied that they did not wish to do so, because they feared that they would be thrown into the sea. One of those in the boat, who seemed to have come as an interpreter, answered that they might well embark because those on board were better Christians than we were. Saying this they went on a-head without more words. This witness and his companions consulted together, and agreed that it was better to embark than to perish as all the rest had done. Having come to this conclusion they again called to the boat which was near, and which returned to the beach. This witness then got into the boat with his arquebus, and, having embarked, they shoved off without caring to take the other two soldiers on board. This witness then knew that the General Tomas Candi[1] was in the boat, to whom he prayed to take the other two soldiers on board. On this occasion he asked whether there were more Spaniards on shore? and this witness answered that there remained twelve men and three women. The General then desired this witness to tell the other two soldiers to go to the rest of their people, and that for his part he would come to embark them all, and that they were to wait for him. On this the two soldiers went to where the survivors were waiting.

The General went back to the ships, and embarked on

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[1] Thomas Cavendish sailed from Plymouth on July 21st, 1586, with three vessels, the *Desire* (120 tons), *Content* (60 tons), and the *Hugh Gallant* (40 tons). They anchored near the first narrow on January 6th, 1587, and it was on the 7th that Cavendish went away in a boat, and took the Spaniard on board.

board the *Capitana*, and while this discourse was proceeding the ships had anchored. When Thomas Candi went on board, seeing that it was good weather for navigating, he made sail without waiting for the rest of the people to whom he had sent,[1] and went on to anchor off the island of the Ducks,[2] where they landed and, in the space of two hours, got six casks of the flesh of young birds. There are many on that island, and the ground is full of holes where they breed, and they are very large and fat. Thence he sailed on to the city of San Felipe, which was the second settlement founded by Pedro Sarmiento.[3] They were there four days, taking in wood and water, and pulling down the houses for the wood. While they were on shore, they took the six pieces of artillery in the settlement, four of bronze and two of cast iron, which were those that were landed from the ship in which Pedro Sarmiento went away. Making sail, they passed through the Strait, and eight days after they had left the second settlement they came out into the South Sea,[4] where they encountered great storms. In this weather the despatch boat[5] was separated from the ships, and was not seen again until they came to the island of Santa Maria, having seen no land up to that time. They had given up the despatch boat as lost. On that island they landed, and supplied themselves with plenty of provisions from the houses of the Indians. After being there four or five days the despatch boat arrived, and came to anchor where the two ships were. Then all made sail for the port

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[1] Burney endeavours to find excuses for this inhuman conduct, but with little success.—II, p. 70. One man survived in 1590, and was taken on board by the *Delight* of Bristol, Captain Merick. His name is not given, and he died on the passage home.

[2] Santa Magdalena.

[3] They anchored here on the 9th of January 1587, naming the place "Port Famine".

[4] On the 24th of February.

[5] The *Hugh Gallant*.

of Valparaiso, but the land was so shut in by mist that they could not make it out, and when it cleared up they found themselves in the port of Quintero. A party went on shore for wood and water, and fresh beef. For they had seen much cattle, but they could not catch one, because they were escaped cattle. They were occupied in this way until four in the afternoon, at which hour three Spaniards on horseback appeared, with lances and daggers, who came to reconnoitre. When the General saw this he called to this witness and told him to go where they were, and find out what they wanted. This witness did so, two Englishman going with him as a guard, and came near them, asking them what people they were. They answered they were Spaniards, and asked the same question. This witness then said that they also were Spaniards, and came from the Strait of Magellan in want of wood, on which they offered to supply as much provisions as was wanted. While talking carelessly with them, this witness perceived that twenty-five men were approaching stealthily; and it seemed that the General had sent them to capture one of the three horsemen. Seeing them coming, this witness gave warning secretly so that the two Englishmen could not understand, telling them to ride away as those he came with were English, and that this witness, being a Spaniard, would return and see them. On this the horsemen departed, and this witness returned where General Tomas Candi was, and told him that they said they were Spaniards. He saw that the General intended to send him again where the Spaniards were, saying that they would supply him with provisions. Having gone with this order in search of the Spaniards, who were waiting for him, one of them took him up behind, and took him that night to a farm. By this time the Corregidor of Santiago had received tidings of the arrival of an enemy, and came to the same farm with his troops, where he found this witness. Next day he made an

ambuscade, and when the people of the ships landed to get water, and to wash their clothes in a lagoon near the port of Quintero, the Spaniards attacked them, killed twelve Englishmen, and took nine prisoners.[1] The Spaniards saw that the despatch boat was coming near the shore to fire her artillery, so they retired without one of them being wounded or hurt. They returned to Santiago, where this witness remained, and afterwards went to Peru, leaving seven of the nine English prisoners that were taken, hanged. And this was the end of the voyage he made to the Strait and settlement of Magellan.

He was asked.—In what latitude is the mouth of the Strait and its opening at the other end?

He answered.—That the mouth was in 52° 30′, but he did not know the latitude of the other end, not being a sailor. He knew the latitude of the mouth because he had taken notice of what was said.

Asked.—Whether from the time he embarked in the English ship, near the first settlement, until he left the Strait, they had bad or good weather?

Answer.—They had very fine weather.

Asked.—Whether they navigated at night?

Answer.—No. They anchored every night, and made sail in the morning.

Asked.—What order was kept in the navigation?

Answer.—They went on, sounding as they went, and the boat a-head.

Asked.—What was the time of year when they passed through the Strait until they came out of it?

Answer.—In the mouth of February, which is summer.

Asked.—Whether there are any sheltered ports in the Strait?

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[1] The English account was that only twelve men were killed and taken prisoners, while they killed twenty-four of the Spaniards.

Answer.—There is anchorage everywhere, for it is all sheltered by high land on one side and the other, from the second settlement onwards.

Asked.—How narrow is the Strait in the narrowest part, and how wide in the widest?

Answer.—The mouth of the Strait, at the entrance, has a width of 7 leagues, and at the second settlement, which will be 50 leagues within the mouth, there is a bay, and the width is 2 leagues. Six leagues further on the Strait becomes narrower until it opens into the South Sea, and before arriving at the bay from the mouth there are different widths of 1 or 2 leagues. The narrowest part of the Strait is an affair of an arquebus shot across. All the Strait on the south side has soundings, and the north side is dangerous on account of the rocks. In the first narrow, at the point of San Geronimo,[1] there are some sand banks, at a distance of some 14 leagues from the mouth.

Asked.—What winds prevail in the winter?

Answer.—Winds blow from all quarters. The inconvenience of navigating the Strait in winter is only from the excessive cold, which is very rigorous, with continual snow, insomuch that it never ceased to snow all the days, and the sun is never out, but always obscured. In case of contrary winds it is always possible to anchor in any part of the Strait, from the second settlement of San Felipe onwards to the South Sea; for it is sheltered by very lofty chains of mountains. But from the mouth to the said settlement, unless a ship runs in at once with a fair wind, there is force to drive her out again, because there is no shelter where she can anchor in safety, for the land is low.

Asked.—Whether there are any rocks to be avoided at the mouth of the Strait?

Answer.—In the mouth itself, on the north side, there is

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[1] San Gregorio.

a point called Madre de Dios, and there are some reefs which run some distance into the sea, where it is needful to keep a good look out.

Asked.—Whether there is another entrance at the mouth of the Strait?

Answer.—He did not see one. Being established at the second settlement, in the middle of the Strait, they went in boats from one side to the other, and saw an opening on the south side, as if there was an archipelago of islands. Navigating with Tomas Candi, the General made a statement that there was another entrance at the mouth. This witness asked him why he did not enter by it? and he answered that it was in a higher latitude, and that as there were many islands he had not wished to run the risk of entering by another mouth. According to what this witness saw in the account of the navigation, he understood that, entering by the mouth mentioned by the Englishman, it would come out by an opening in the middle of the Strait. For he did not see any other.

Asked.—What is the distance along the whole Strait, from the mouth to its termination at the South Sea?

Answer.—It is 100 leagues, as well from what he saw in navigating, as from having walked half the distance on land.

Asked.—In how long a time could the Strait be navigated?

Answer.—With a fair wind blowing fresh, he thought it might be done in eight or ten days from the second settlement, which is near the narrow.

Asked.—Whether it is dangerous at any part besides the entrance?

Answer.—Near the river of San Gregorio, which is between the second settlement and the South Sea, where Tomas Candi destroyed some canoes of the natives, there is difficulty, owing to the meeting of the two seas, but it

does not amount to being dangerous owing to the shelter from land on both sides.

Asked.—For what distance is there no shelter?

Answer.—He thought about 30 leagues from entering the mouth of the Strait. The next 20 leagues is more sheltered as the land becomes higher, and for the remaining 50 it is as smooth and navigable as a river, owing to the shelter from the mountains and to its being so narrow.

Asked.—How are the gigantic natives that are said to have been seen clothed and armed?

Answer.—They are dressed in the skins of animals, and armed with bows and arrows.

Asked.—What colour are they, do they wear their hair long or short, and have they beards?

Answer.—Some are white and of a good colour, and others very brown. They have no beards, and they wear their hair long, and gathered up on their heads like women.

Asked.—What stature had they?

Answer.—They were very corpulent and ill formed.

Asked.—Whether during the time he was on shore in the Strait he saw other natives besides those referred to, and women; and whether all the rest have the same stature, and whether he saw many people together, and how many?

Answer.—The greatest number of natives he saw together would be 250, being those who first came peacefully. They were of the stature and appearance already mentioned. They frequent the neighbourhood of the first settlement, which is plain country. From the second settlement to the South Sea there are natives of ordinary stature, with the same clothing, and the hair short. They carry darts for weapons.

Asked.—What settlements have these natives, of the first and the second kind?

Answer.—He saw none of any sort.

Asked.—If while he was there the Spaniards had intercourse with the natives, and whether they went inland?

Answer.—They did not go further inland than 3 leagues, and they had no further intercourse than has been mentioned above.

Asked.—How much plain country did he think there was from the first settlement onwards?

Answer.—From thence to the mountains there are 30 leagues of plain country.

Asked.—If there are any pastures and rivers in the plain country?

Answer.—There are two small rivers before coming to the mountains and plenty of pasture.

Asked.—Whether there are cattle or other animals of Castille, or peculiar to the country, or any birds?

Answer.—In the plain country he saw vicuñas,[1] which they call sheep of the country, and there are wild birds, and deer in the hills, but no sheep nor birds (domestic?).

Asked.—Whether the natives ride on horseback, and if there are any horses?

Answer.—He always saw them walk on foot, and he saw no horses.

Asked.—If he knew how these natives maintained themselves, if they have any tillage, and how they live?

Answer.—As soon as he landed he saw that the natives had pieces of whale flesh and shell-fish for food. Also one of the women who were brought out by Pedro Sarmiento went to live with the natives, having fallen into their power, out of two they met walking on shore (having killed the other), and this woman remained alive among them for three months, at the end of which time they set her free. She said that they had no settlement, and that they maintained themselves on some roots, shell-fish, and seal

[1] Guanacos. The vicuña is confined to Peru.

and whale flesh, and that they did not cultivate anything.

Asked.—Whether he saw any fruits, wild or otherwise?

Answer.—He only saw fruit like jujubes,[1] which they ate. He saw no others.

Asked.—Whether in the plain or mountainous country he saw any animals.

Answer.—He saw small lions[2] and no others.

Asked.—Whether in the woods he saw any vipers or other poisonous reptiles?

Answer.—He did not see any because they do not breed, owing to the country being cold.

Asked.—What shell-fish it was that this witness and the other Spaniards lived upon?

Answer.—There were cockle-shells and barnacles, and some sea urchins, on which they kept themselves alive.

Asked.—How they roofed the houses they built in the settlement?

Answer.—With grass, which is also called *icho.*

Asked.—What language the natives spoke, and how did the Spaniards understand them?

Answer.—They only heard them say "Jesus!" "Santa Maria!" looking up at the sky; and they gave us to understand that there were other men inland, saying, "other men with beards, with boats; other boys"; and pointing out to the Spaniards the boys they had with them, they said, "that they were like those", and they showed their size with their hands, and that they were in the land beyond, by which we understood that the country towards where they pointed, which was to the north, was inhabited.

Asked.—Whether there are any people to the south,

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[1] "*Azufaifa*", fruit of the jujube tree. *Rhamnus zizyphus* (*L.*).

[2] Pumas.

coming through the Strait, and whether they communicate with those in front?

Answer.—From the Tierra del Fuego some Indians came in their canoes and communicated from one side to the other, and it is supposed they use the same language with those in the plain country, who are giants, and who have intercourse with those on the side to the south who are like them. But those of the mountainous part do not communicate with those of the plains. When Tomas Candi was sailing in his ship, and this witness was with him, arriving at the river of San Gregorio, the boats went on shore in the afternoon for water, and found many natives in the river, who received the English well, and gave them some dead game of what they had with them, and they were invited to return another day. The General was much pleased at this, and resolved to do as they were invited. This witness said that these natives intended deceit, and to form an ambuscade, for they were treacherous, and had done the same with the Spaniards, his companions. With this warning the English landed next day in a different part to that where the natives watched, and when they saw they could not carry out their intention they came on the beach, near the mouth of the river, menacing the English who had to pass it, and had no other way out in the boats, and intending to kill them all there. Then they came nearer. This witness said to the General that all the natives being now collected together, he had better fire upon them and put them to rout. This was done, and many were killed and wounded, on which they abandoned their post and fled into the woods. The English then got into the boats and crossed the river, where they found a great barricade aud many weapons behind it, darts and arrows, pointed with swords and daggers left by Spaniards, whom they had killed on the road, being people brought by Pedro Sarmiento to the settlements. Presently the English

took the shallops and, having ascended the river, they found more than twenty canoes without any natives. They towed them out in sight of the ships and set them on fire.

Asked.—What weather is met with in that land?

Answer.—From October summer begins, and lasts for six months, and winter begins in April.

Asked.—Whether it is very hot in summer?

Answer.—Yes; and the winter, beginning in April, is severe. There is so much snow that the ship, which was anchored there, had to push it off the deck into the sea with shovels.

Asked.—How many pieces of artillery were landed from the ship at the first settlement, and where were they left?

Answer.—He did not remember well, but he thought there were over thirty, all of bronze, and that they were buried a stone's throw from the sea, in front of the settlement, and he thought they must be covered with sand, the coast being so wild, though they were left with proper earth over them; it is half a league from the mouth of the Strait, as it is entered, on the north side.

Asked.—Whether the Indians who came brought anything of silver or gold, as ornaments in their noses or ears, as others are accustomed to do.

Answer.—That they did not bring anything of the kind, nor, while he was there, did he see anything of silver or gold. When this witness and his companions were seeking for shell-fish on the beach to keep themselves alive, they found in many parts of it shells, with pearls inside, but as they were of no use to them as food, they left them and sought for others with more meat. They had much knowledge of the pearl shells, as they were numerous; and at first, when they had no thought of perishing, and had hopes of escaping, they kept them. Men and women collected them for Captain Pedro Sarmiento; but, afterwards, when

they found themselves in such hopeless case, they took no more care of them.

Asked.—What kind of pearls were in the shells?

Answer.—They were very white and of all kinds.

Asked.—What timber there was in the forests, and whether it was large enough for ship building?

Answer.—There were white alder, some cypresses, and other kinds, forming large timber, which he did not know by their names, and ships could be built with the wood And that what is here said and declared is all the truth by the oath which has been recorded. Signed by this witness, who is now of the age of 62 years. His Excellency also signed it.

TOMÉ HERNANDEZ: before me, GARCIA DE TAMAYO.

INDEX OF PERSONS.

Abreu, Simon de, a sailor on board the *N. S. de Esperanza.* In the list left at the river San Juan; also in the list at the end of the voyage, but could not sign, 132, 203

Acosta, a Jesuit historian, who accompanied Francisco de Toledo on his visitation of Peru, xviii

Aguilera, Juan Rodriquez de, master of the *S. M. de Begoña*, 220

Aguinaga, Domingo de, a captain appointed by the King, 214

Aguirre, Juan de, captain of the *Francesca*, 220

Aguirre, Don Ordoño de, General: made a Report at Lima to the Viceroy of Peru, which led to the deposition of Tomé Hernandez being taken, 352

Agustin, Maesa, carpenter of the *N. S. de Esperanza.* In the list left at San Juan, 132; also in the list at the end of the voyage, but could not sign, 203

Alabari, Diego de, captain and master of the *Corza*, 221

Alas, Alonso de las, a Portuguese, captain of the *Almiranta*, half-brother of Diego de la Ribera, 219, 256 *n.*; also an accountant, 256, 294

Alas, Estevan de las, captain of the *S. Estevan de Soroa*, and General Purveyor, 211, 221

Alas, Gregorio de las, captain of *Concepçion*, 219, 256 *n.*; remained with Sarmiento, 296; goes ashore with him at C. Virgin, 302; disembarks soldiers and stores there, 303; accused of stealing stores, 308 *n.*

Alas, Pedro Estevan de las, captain of the *N. S. de Esperanza*, 220, 226 *n.*

Alava, Don Francisco de, of Lisbon, plans of the forts submitted to him, 213, 230

Albarca, Hector, captain of the *S. Miguel*, 220

Albor, Diego Perez de (*see* **Perez, Diego**)

Alcazaba (*see* **Alcazava, Simon de**)

Alcazava, Simon de, a Portuguese, sailed to the Strait in 1534-35, xxv, 217, 289 *n.*

Alcega, Diego de (*see* **Arce, Diego de**)

Alonso, Hernando, second pilot on board the *N. S. de Esperanza*, 18, 22; always took sights at noon with Sarmiento, 27, 30, 32, 35, 37, 157, 163, 165, 171, 172, 175; sounded ahead to pilot ships into Port Rosario, 40; tried in vain to recover the anchor at Pt. Primero, 57; intended to go in search of Sarmiento in the boat, 89; his opinion as to the course for the Strait, 96; in the brigantine, narrow escape, 100; urged Sarmiento to turn back after entering the Strait, 112; in the list left at San Juan, 132; sent in a small vessel, the *Concepçion*, from Santiago (Cape Verde) to take the news to the

Viceroy of Peru, 189, 190 *n.*; mentioned, 31, 89, 96, 98, 108, 110, 111, 113, 119, 125, 137, 141, 149, 152, 158, 166, 184

Alva, Fernando Alvarez de Toledo, Duke of, 212, 230

Alvarez Pedro, a sailor in the *N. S. de Esperanza*. In the list left at the river San Juan, 133; also in list at the end of the voyage, but could not sign, 203

Amador, Friar, a Franciscan appointed as Commissary to collect twelve friars to go out, 222; he mutinied, 257, 296, 298

Andrada, Bartolomé de, deputy-governor and lawyer at Santiago (Cape Verde), 240

Andrada, Francisco de, serjeant-major at Santiago (Cape Verde). He went on board Sarmiento's ship with some troops, when an unsuccessful attempt was made to catch the French pirate, 184, 186

Andrada, Gaspar de, Portuguese governor of Santiago (Cape Verde), 179. He wrote a letter to Sarmiento entreating his aid against French pirates, 186; Sarmiento's second meeting with him in 1582, 239

Andres, Mateo, a sailor on board the *N. S. de Esperanza*. In the list left at the river San Juan, and in the list made at the end of the voyage, but could not sign, 133, 203

Angeles, Friar Antonio de los (*see* **Antonio, Fray**)

Antonelli, Juan Baptista, engineer of the forts in Sarmiento's settlement, 212, 223

Antonio, Don, Prior of Crato, the Portuguese Pretender. Proclaimed at Terceira in spite of the efforts of Sarmiento to prevent it, and to intercept vessels taking news to Lisbon, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 212 *n.*; jealous of Raleigh's reception of Sarmiento, and plots to kill him, 343

Antonio, Fray, a Franciscan in Sarmiento's settlement, 222; denounced the natives as sorcerers, 358; in the boat built at San Felipe and returned there with Viedma, where he perished, 363. The Spanish Editor suggests his being the same as **Fray Antonio de Guadramiro** (whom *see*), but *see* Editor's note, p. 362

Antonio, Gaspar, master-at-arms of the *N. S. de Esperanza*. In the list left at the river San Juan, 132; in the list made at the end of the voyage, and he signed the Journal, 203, 204; afterwards master of the *S. Catalina*, 221

Aquilera, Gaspar de, raised a company for the Expedition, but did not go, 221

Aquino, Andres de, accountant, left at S. Catalina by de Valdes, 258; sold booty from the store-ship lost at S. Catalina, 270; constructed a bastion at S. Vicente, 272; an accomplice of de Valdes, 273

Aquino, Pedro de, captain of the *S. M. de Begoña*, 220; and of the *S. Nicholas*, 221

Arancibia, Juan de, master of the *Capitana*, 219

Aranda, Pedro de, a soldier on board the *N. S. de Esperanza*. In the list left at the river of San Juan, 132; hit in the eye by an arrow from a Patagonian at San Gregorio Bay, 146; he is in list made at the end of the voyage, and he signed the Journal, 203, 204

Arbelaez, Juan de, postman at Irun, France, whose Spanish servant interpreted for Sarmiento when in prison, 345

Arce, Diego de, brought out supplies to Janeiro, for the fleet of

Diego Flores de Valdes; and the latter resolved, on their arrival, to abandon the service on which he was employed, and return to Spain, 240, 273, 278, 291, 356

Arce, or Arcea, Pedro de, a man of Bahia, of whom Sarmiento bought powder, food, &c., 295, 336

Arrieta, Juan de, master of the *Maria de S. Vicente*, 220

Arroyo, Geronimo, a soldier on board the *N. S. de Esperanza*. In the list left at the river San Juan, 132; also in the list made at the end of the voyage, and he signed the Journal, 203, 204; he is mentioned as a witness of the act of taking possession, at the port of Candelaria, in the Strait, 110

Arroyo, Juan de, a sentry at Don Felipe, Sarmiento's settlement, who was caught by the officer going the rounds, Tomé Hernandez, listening to mutinous proposals from an insubordinate clergyman, 360

Avendaño, Domingo Martinez de, captain of the *Maria Magdalena*, 220 *n.*, 221, 267, 296 *n.*

Baer, Lope, a Spaniard killed at Sarmiento's settlement, 322, 359

Bahamonde, Pedro de, a soldier on board the *N. S. de Esperanza*. In the list that was left at the river San Juan, 132; his name is spelt Bamonde in the list made at the end of the voyage, and he signed his name Baamonde, 203, 204; he is mentioned as a witness of the act of taking possession, at the port of Candelaria, in the Strait, 110

Balboa, Miguel Cavello, the historian, mentioned, xiii *n.*

Baltolo, Angel, a sailor on board the *N. S. de Esperanza*. He is called Dispenser in the list left at the river San Juan, 132; so he probably succeeded to the duties of the disrated purser (*see* **Sagasti**). In the list made at the end of the voyage his name is written Bartolo, 203; he could not sign, 92 *n.*

Barbudo, Captain, a Spanish captain taken prisoner by the English at Puerto Rico, and put to death because he had killed some English at Margarita, 182

Barreto, Manuel Tellez, Governor of Brazil, correspondence with Sarmiento, 292, 336

Barrios, Christoval de, the King's purveyor at Bahia, 292, 294

Baxaneta, Domingo, a sailor on board the *N. S. de Esperanza*. In the list left at the river San Juan. His name is Vazaneta in the list made at the end of the voyage, but he could not sign, 132, 203

Bazan, Don Alvaro de (*see* **Cruz, Marquis de Santa**)

Benalcazar, Friar Bartolomé de, went to the Strait with the fleet, 222, 298, 299, ; but returned with Diego de la Ribera, 316

Betancor, Juan de, a gentleman at Terceira in Sarmiento's interest, who came on board in a boat with muffled oars, to warn him of what was going on, 199, 200

Bonilla, Christoval de, a soldier on board the *N. S. de Esperanza*, guilty of mutinous conduct and punished at the Bay of Mercy, 104; in the list left at the river of San Juan, 132; but not in the final list. Probably one of the crew of the *Concepçion*, 189 *n.*

Borja, Don Francisco de, 353 (*see* **Esquilache, Prince of**)

Bravo, Garcia, pilot of the *Maria de S. Vicente*, 220

Burleigh, Lord Treasurer, interview with Sarmiento, 343

Busto, Alvaro de, captain of the *Guadalupe*, 221, 237; later of the *Maria*, 267. Son-in-law of Diego Flores de la Valdes, his name is also spelt Bastos

Candi, Tomas (*see* **Cavendish**)

Cañete, Marquis de, Viceroy of Peru 1557-1561, xi; life of him, xxv *n.*

Cano, Sebastian del, sailed with de Loaysa, 289 *n.*

Carrasco, Pedro Alonso, one of the conquerors of Peru, granted a house at Cuzco, 1557, xx

Carvajal, Juan de, a friar who stole some of the church ornaments taken out by Sarmiento, 298

Castel-Rodrigo, Joan de, in command of a Portuguese fleet for India. Sarmiento found his name recorded on a cross, at Ascension, 166

Castelnau, Michel de, Baron de Joinville, ambassador to England, d. 1592, 344 *n.*

Castelnau, M. de, commandant of the garrison of Mont de Marsan, Landes, France, where Sarmiento was imprisoned, 344, 346

Castro, Lope Garcia de, Licentiate governor of Peru, 1564, iii *n.*, xi, xiii, xvi, xvii

Castillo, Antonio del, a soldier on board the *N. S. de Esperanza*. In the list left at the river of San Juan, and also in the list made at the end of the voyage, and he signed the Journal, 132, 203, 204

Cavendish, Thomas, took Tomé Hernandez on board, but abandoned the rest of the starving settlers to their fate, xxvii, xxviii, 269, 341; at San Felipe pulling down houses for fire-wood, 365, 366; fired on natives, at Quintero, 122*n.*, 352, 364, 369, 373

Chaves, Alonso de, examiner of pilots, and author, 216

Chiquillo, Juan Martin, one of the two men who were with Tomé Hernandez when Cavendish took him into the boat. Chiquillo was told to go back to his companions, and tell them Cavendish would come for them; he came from Estremadura, 363

Conquero, Gaspar, pilot left at Rio by de la Ribera, 333

Corballo, Martin, royal purveyor at Pernambuco, 333, 334

Correa, Salvador, Governor of Rio, 242, 243

Cortados, Estevan, master of the *Concepçion*, acts promptly in a storm, 278

Corzo (*see* **Páblos**)

Corzo, Juan Antonio, a sailor on board the *N. S. de Esperanza*. In the list that was left at the river San Juan; but he is not in the list made at the end of the voyage, so he must have been one of those who formed the crew of the *Concepçion* with the Pilot Alonso, 132, 189 *n.*

Coutinho, ——, Portuguese Governor of Espiritu Santo (Santos), 336

Cruz, Alvaro de Bazan, Marquis de Santa, naval commander, 212, 230

Cuellar, Francisco de, captain of *S. Catalina*, 221

Delgado, Juan, a member of the Junta, to whom Sarmiento applied for settlers to take out at his own expense, 230

Diaz, Manuel, a Portuguese officer at Santiago (Cape Verde) who was sent out in chase of the French pirate, under the orders of Sarmiento, 184

Diaz, Pero, a Portuguese, chief pilot of the River Plate, 219

Drake, Sir Francis (Draquez, Francisco), his raid into the Pacific was the cause of the expedition of Sarmiento, who also had orders to collect information of his proceedings, xxiii, xxiv, 3, 4, 19, 109, 181, 195; a native of Plymouth, 209; mentioned, 281, 288, 289

Drake, John, captain of the *Francis*, sailed to Brazil 1582, 252 *n.*, 254 *n.*; a native of Plymouth, 268

Duarte, Francisco, appointed contractor to the fleet, 212, 223

Enriquez, Juan, pilot of the *Capitana*, xiv

Enriquez, Don Martin, Viceroy of New Spain, takes action against Sir F. Drake, 209

Escobor, Juan de, pilot of the *Guadalupe*, 221

Espinosa, Francisco Garces de, a soldier on board the *N. S. de Esperanza*, in the list left at the river of San Juan, and in the list made at the end of the voyage; he signed the Journal, 132, 203, 204; paymaster and storekeeper, 222

Esquilache, Prince of, Viceroy of Peru, ordered the deposition of Tomé Hernandez to be taken in 1620, with all legal formalities, xxviii, 352 (*see* also **Aguirre, Hernandez, Tamayo**)

Esquivel, Juan de, royal notary of the *N. S. de Esperanza*. He testified to and wrote out formal acts of taking possession, and similar documents, 9, 22, 44, 94, 97, 110, 132, 134, 182, 203, 204, 205; appointed master of the *S. Estevan de Soroa*, 221

Esquivel, Pedro de, substituted treasurer of the fleet, 211

Felipe, a Patagonian, 223

Fenton, Edward, commander of the English ship *Leicester*, sailed to Brazil 1582, 192 *n.*, 252 *n.*, 269 *n.*, ; fought in the Armada in command of a ship, his death, 253 *n.* (*See* **Gonson, Thomasine**)

Fernandez, Diego, elected magistrate of Felipe, 330 *n.*

Fernandez, Domingo, master of the *Guadalupe*, 221

Fernandez, Juan, the famous pilot, is mentioned as the discoverer of the islands of San Ambrosio and San Felix, 28, 29 *n.*

Fernandez, Juan, one of the two men left on shore by Cavendish when he took Hernandez into the boat; he was a native of Puentevedra (*see* **Cavendish, Chiquillo,** and **Hernandez**), 363

Figueroa, Captain Desidero, deputy commander of one of the two forts, 222

Francisco, a Fuegian in Sarmiento's settlement, 223

Freite, Francisco de, an auditor of the Court of San Jorge in the Azores. He took depositions about the earthquake there, and as to a mysterious appearance on the sun, 190, 191, 196

Fuentidueña, ——, pilot of the *Maria Magdalena*, 220

Gallego, Hernando, chief pilot of Mendaña's expedition, xiv

Gamboa, family name of Sarmiento's mother, x

Garcia (or Garces), Francisco, treasurer of the fleet, instigated a mutiny, 296 (*see* also **Gavres**)

Garnica, Francis de (*see* **Guernica, Francis**)

Garribay, Juan de, captain of the *Capitana*, 219

Garri, Tomas, appointed deputy commander of one of the forts, 222; afterwards promoted, 223; and left in charge, 297

Garro, Domingo de, royal officer appointed to assist in fitting out the expedition of Sarmiento at Callao, oaths taken in his presence, 18

Gavres, Francisco, treasurer, 257 (*see* **Garcia, Francisco**)

Geronimo, Fray (*see* **Montoya**)

Godoy, Francisco de, conspirator punished at Felipe, 331 *n.*

Gomez, Luis, second pilot of the *Almiranta*, 219

Gomez, Gaspar, a sailor on board the *N. S. de Esperanza*. In the list left at the river of San Juan, 132; he is not in the list made at the end of the voyage, so was probably one of the crew of the *Concepçion* with the Pilot Alonso, 189 *n.*

Gonson, Thomasine, sister of Lady Hawkins, married Edward Fenton, 253 *n.*

Gonzalez, Antonio, pilot of the *Maria*, 314, 326 *n.*

Gonzalez, Luis, a sailor on board the *N. S. de Esperanza*. In the list left at the river of San Juan, 132, but not in the list made at the end of the voyage. He was probably one of the crew of the *Concepçion* with the Pilot Alonso, 189 *n.*

Gonzalez, Luis, a soldier, ensign of a company who went to the Strait, 221

Gonzalez, Pedro, a sailor on board the *N. S. de Esperanza*. In the list left at the river of San Juan, and in the list made at the end of the voyage, but he could not sign, 132, 203

Gordan, M. de, Governor of Calais, visited by Sarmiento, 344

Gorvea (*see* **Urbea**)

Grenville, Sir Richard, Sarmiento taken prisoner by, 340

Gronow, Abraham, possessor of Sarmiento's *History of the Incas* in 1785, xxi

Guadramiro, Friar Antonio, a Franciscan, Vicar of the Fleet. He also served in one of the ships sent after Drake to Panama. He preached comfortable sermons, performed the services at the acts of taking possession, and occasionally accompanied Sarmiento on his boat expeditions; in all the lists and signed the Journal (*see* **Antonio, Friar**), 22, 34, 43, 94, 110, 126, 128, 131, 161, 198, 203, 204

Guernica, Francis de, captain of artillery, 313, 325, 330

Guevara, Juan Gutierrez de, "Alferez" or Ensign of the *N. S. de Esperanza*. He accompanied Sarmiento in some of his boat expeditions and ascents of mountains, and was employed to open intercourse with natives, 111, 119, 136; but something went very wrong on the passage home, for after leaving Santiago (Cape Verde) on June 19th, 1580, he was put to death as a traitor, a seditious man who dishonoured the royal flag, and because he sought to impede the discovery, 188; he was on shore and apparently in favour at Ascension, 7, 22, 94, 108, 110, 131, 136, 146, 167

Guillermo, boatswain of the *Almiranta*, *San Francisco*, 23

Guirieta, Martin de, a Biscayan, master of the *Almiranta*, 219

Gutierrez, Diego, a draughtsman, father of Sancho Gutierrez, 217

Gutierrez, Doctor Pero, Judge of the Council of the Indies, 241

Gutierrez, Sancho, a draughtsman of Seville, 216, 217; his death, 218

Guzman, Francisco de, Commissary General of the Indies, of the Order of St. Francis, 222

Haro, Friar Diego de, a Franciscan who went out to the Strait, 222

Hawkins, Sir John, sails from England for the Strait, 340, 341

Hawkins, William, Lieutenant-General under Fenton, whom see, 252 *n.*, 269 *n.*; he kept a Journal

Heraso, Antonio de, a member of the Junta, with whom Sarmiento conferred about the settlers, 230

Heredia, Geronimo, or **Hieronimo, de,** accountant and overseer, 222, 296

Hernandez, Francisco, a sailor on board the *N. S. de Esperanza*. He is in the list left at the river of San Juan, 132; he was employed to explore at Puerto Angosto, and set up a cross on the top of a mountain, 115; he is in the list made at the end of the voyage, and signed the Journal, 203, 204

Hernandez, Tomé, soldier of Sarmiento's settlement saved by Cavendish, xxvii, xxviii; he made a deposition before a Notary at Lima 1620, telling the whole story, 352; then aged 62, native of Badajos, 353, 375

Herreaz, Lope, an officer killed by the Patagonians during Sarmiento's march from Jesus to Don Felipe (*see* **Baer, Lope**)

Herrera, ——, accountant who mutinied, 257

Hojeda, Pedro de, boatswain of the *N. S. de Esperanza*. He is in all the lists, and signed the Journal, but is not otherwise mentioned, 132, 203, 204

Hormachea, ——, master of the *Gallega*, 220

Howard, Admiral Lord, interview with Sarmiento, 343

Hurtado, Garcia de, Governor of Chile, sent out Ladrilleros to examine the Strait 1557, 217 *n.*

Idiaquez, Juan de, Royal Secretary, letter from Sarmiento to, xxix, 347, 348

Illescas, Antonio de, a member of the Junta with whom Sarmiento conferred about the settlers, 230

Illescas, Juan Nuñez de, treasurer of the fleet, but did not go, 211

Incas, Sarmiento's history of the, x, xii, xix, xx, xxx; now at Göttingen, xxv; early history of the, xxi *n.*; the last Inca murdered, xviii; the affection of the Peruvians for them, xix *n.* (*see* **Tupac, Amaru,** etc.)

Iñiquez, Juan, a captain with the settlers who went out with Sarmiento, 223, 313, 315, 332; sent by Sarmiento in search of the Patagonians and had an encounter with them, 357; sent back in command of soldiers from Don Felipe to Jesus, 361

Inquisition, the, Sarmiento persecuted by, xi, xxii

Isasiga, Pedro de, a soldier on board the *N. S. de Esperanza*. He is not in the list left at the river of San Juan, but appears in the list made at the end of the voyage, 203. He did not sign. Perhaps he was a hand borrowed from the Spanish fleet at the Azores.

Jimenes, Francisco, pilot of the *Maria*, 220

Jorge, Pedro, a sailor on board the *N. S. de Esperanza*. He was one of the crew of the brigantine that was put together at Puerto Bernejo, and was drowned at sea in trying to get on board the ship when the

brigantine was swamped, 100, 133; second pilot of the *Capitana*, 219

Juan, a Fuegian in Sarmiento's settlement, 223

Ladrilleros, Juan de, sent from Chile to examine approach to the Strait, xxv, 217 *n.*

Lara, Don Francisco Manrique de, Royal Agent, and a Knight of Santiago, who assisted at Callao in fitting out the expedition of Sarmiento, 6, 18, 19

Larréa, Sancho de, a sailor on board the *N. S. Esperanza.* In the list left at the river San Juan, but not in the last list. So he must have been one of the crew of the *Concepçion*, with the pilot Alonso, 132, 189 *n.*

Lecoya, Martin de, master of the *S. Miguel*, 220

Leguisamo, Mancio Serra de, one of the conquerors of Peru, xx

Leyton, Bartolomé, name of the bishop at Santiago (Cape Verde), when Sarmiento was there, 188, 239

Leyton, Martin, chief justice of Pernambuco, 334

Loaisa, Serjeant-Major, rises against Sarmiento, 267

Loaysa, Garcia Jofre de, his expedition to the Strait, 1525-6, xxiv, xxv, 289 *n.*

Lomero, Hernando Gallego, chief pilot and pilot of the *San Francisco.* Sarmiento reprimanded him for not taking sights regularly. He wanted to go south against Sarmiento's views, 33; he accompanied Sarmiento in the three boat voyages up the Gulf of Trinidad, 46, 61, 73; but he appears at least to have concurred in the desertion of the Admiral Villalabos, 18, 20, 22, 27, 31, 32, 47, 55, 69, 76, 79, 81, 85, 93, 95, 96, 105, 131, 149, 158, 177, 190, 201

Lopez, Pedro, caulker on board the *N. S. de Esperanza*; shipped at Pisco. In the list left at the river of San Juan, and in the list made at the end of the voyage, 132, 203

Lorano, a soldier who was lost, 323 *n.*

Lorca, Gaspar de, a clergyman near Lima, who observed an eclipse with Sarmiento, 215

Luis, Bernaldo, a Portuguese merchant in London, who warned Sarmiento of a plot of Don Antonio to kill him, 342, 343

Maddox, Mr., chaplain of the *Leicester*, kept a Journal of the voyage, 1582, 252 *n.*

Madera, Gaspar, pilot, afterwards master of the *Maria de Buen Pasage*, 220

Magellan, Ferdinand, a chart by, 217; suppresses mutiny at S. Julian, 289 *n.*

Maldonado, Diego, Surveyor of the Fleet, 213

Marchena, Alonso de, a friend of Juan de Pancorvo, xx *n.*

Markham, William, master of the *Francis*, sailed to Brazil, 1582, 252 *n.*; escaped in a canoe, 268

Marquez, Pedro, a sailor on board the *N. S. de Esperanza.* In the list left at the river of San Juan, and in the list made at the end of the voyage, but could not sign, 132, 203; pilot of the *S. Estevan de Soroa*, 221

Martin, Friar, one of the mutinous friars, 298

Martin, Pedro, a soldier on board the *N. S. de Esperanza.* In the list left at the river of San Juan, 132; but not in the last list. Probably one of the crew of the *Con-*

cepçion with the Pilot Alonso, 189 *n.*

Martinez, Diego, commandant of one of the forts, 222 ; drowned in a storm off S. Lucar, 223

Matienzo, Judge, accompanies the Viceroy Toledo in a visitation of Peru, xviii

Mazuelas, Francisco de, a soldier on board the *N. S. de Esperanza,* in the list left at the river of San Juan, 132. He is not in the last list, and was probably one of the crew of the *Concepçion* with the Pilot Alonso, 189 *n.*

Medina Sidonia, Duke of, 232, 233, 236

Melendez, Gonzalo, captain of a frigate in the fleet of Diego Flores de Valdes, which was lost in the river Plate. The men landed and mutinied, and Melendez came by land to Sta. Catalina, where the rest of the fleet was : the men followed, 355

Mendaña, Alvaro de, nephew of Garcia de Castro, commands the expedition to the South Seas, xiii ; Sarmiento under him has the better judgment, xiv, xv ; ascends a mountain in Guadalcanal I, one of the Solomon Islands, xvi ; disagreement with Sarmiento, xiv, xvi ; his report, xvii *n.*

Mendoza, Bernardino, Spanish Ambassador at Paris, 344 ; his letter to Philip II, 281, 287, 288, 289 ; his chart, 290

Menendez, Gonzola, captain of the *S. Marta,* 221

Meneses, Don Antonio Padilla y, President of the Council of the Indies, 231 *n.*

Merick, Captain Andrew, commander of the *Delight* of Bristol, xxviii, 365 *n.*

Merida, Friar Christoval de, vicar and chaplain of the *Almiranta San Francisco,* 22 ; he revealed the treacherous designs of those on board to the vicar of the *N. S. de Esperanza,* 34

Mesa, Alonso de, a conqueror of Peru, xx

Mesa, Gonzalo de, pilot of the *Trinidad,* 221

Miranda, Hernando de, a captain left by Diego Flores de Valdes in command of a garrison at San Vicente in Brazil, 354

Montalvo, Gabriel de, of the Holy Inquisition, appointed auditor, 222

Montoya, Fray Geronimo, Franciscan friar, 298, 316

Mora, Rodrigo de, pilot of the *S. M. de Begoña,* 220

Morales, Christoval de, a Spaniard living at Mont Marsan, France, 347

Morejon, Fernando, captain of the *Maria de S. Vicente,* 220

Morejon, Captain Francisco, of Pernambuco, 279, 334

Moreno, Salvador, master of the *Maria Magdalena,* 220

Mori, Juan de, an officer under Alcazava, xxv *n.*

Mota, M. de la, Sarmiento visits him at Dunkirk on his way to Spain, 344

Navamuel, Alvaro Ruiz de, Secretary to the Government of Peru and notary at Lima, who read the Viceroy's Instructions to Sarmiento and his officers, received their oaths, and attested documents, xx, 7, 17, 18, 19

Navarro, Simon, magistrate at S. Felipe, 330 *n.*

Nevares, Francisco de, captain of the *Maria,* 220

Neyva, Fray Juan de Riba de, commissary of the river Plate, 252

Nieva, Conde de, Viceroy of Peru, 1561-1564, murdered, xi, xvii

Noue, François de la, an officer and author, 1580, for whom Sarmiento was to be exchanged as prisoner, 345

Nuño, Andres, commandant of one of the forts, 222

Ocaña, Friar Juan de, went to the Strait in the fleet, 222; drowned in the storm off S. Lucar, 223

Ojeda, Pedro de, master of the *N. S. de Esperanza*, 220

Ondegardo, Polo de, a lawyer of Peru, and Corregidor of Cuzco, xviii, xx

Onino, Andres de, accountant to the fleet, 211

Orduña, Andres de, a soldier on board the *N. S. de Esperanza*. In the list left at the river San Juan, 132; he is also in the list made at the end of the voyage, and he signed the Journal, 203, 204

Oropesa, Count of, brother of Don Francisco de Toledo, xvii

Ortega, Pedro de, camp-master of the *Almiranta*, xiv, xv

Ortiz, ——, of Bilbao, master of the *Concepçion*, 219

Osuna, Juan de, witness of the act of possession at Jesus, 302 *n.*

Ovalle, Diego de, captain of the *Maria Magdalena*, 220; afterwards of the *Francesca*, 221

Pablo, Pedro, a sailor on board the *N. S. de Esperanza*. In the list left at the river of San Juan, 132; and in the last list; but he could not sign, 203

Pablos, Anton, senior pilot of the *N. S. de Esperanza*. He always took sights with Sarmiento, and accompanied him in all his surveying and boat expeditions in the Gulf of Trinidad, 39, 46, 61, 73, 82, 157, 159, 160, 163, 165, 172, 175. Received great praise from Sarmiento for his conduct in the storm off C. Sta. Lucia, 101; he tried to persuade Sarmiento to return after entering the Strait of Magellan, 112; accompanied him in ascents of mountains, 56, 79, 85, 115, 118, 121; a most efficient and zealous pilot, 33, 101; in all the lists, and signed the Journal, 132, 203, 204; in signing his opinion at P. Bernejo the signature is *Anton Páblos Corzo* (*Francisco de Seixas y Lovera* speaks of Anton Páblos Corzo as having written a work on the navigation of the coast of Peru and the Straits, *Tit.* xii, fol. 10 *b.*), mentioned, 18, 22, 27, 30, 31, 32, 35, 46, 76, 82, 93, 96, 103, 126, 127, 128, 131, 152, 158, 211, 215; audience of the King who grants him 500 ducats, 213; pilot of the *Capitana*, 219, 259; his advice to Sarmiento, 260; on the *Maria*, 301; on the *Trinidad*, 309; he obtains a certificate from Sarmiento, 310

Pacheco, Geronimo or **Hieronimo,** a servant of the Viceroy of Toledo, who took Sarmiento's *History of the Incas* to Spain, xix, 241

Palomar, Sebastian de, enlisted a company, but did not go himself, 221

Palomar, Juan Gutierrez de, captain of the *S. Estevan de Arriola*, 219, 247, 248 *n.*

Pancorvo, Juan de, a conqueror of Peru, living at Cuzco, xx

Paris, Melcior, pilot of the *S. Catalina*, 221

Payba, a female servant of the Viceroy whom Sarmiento was suspected by the Inquisition of supplying with charms, xi

Pazos, Juan de, Sarmiento's nephew, who took his report to the King, 270, 279, 288, 292

Pedroso, Friar Luis de, a Franciscan who went out with Sarmiento, 222; drowned in the storm off San Lucar, 223

Peñalosa, Gonzalo Ronquillo de, Governor of the Philippine Islands, xxviii

Peralta, Friar Francisco de, preaches to the natives, 222; drowned at San Lucar, 223

Perez, Alfonso, a Portuguese, pilot of the *Concepçion*, 219

Perez, Diego, a sailor on board the *N. S. de Esperanza*. In the list left at the river of San Juan, and in the last list, where he has the surname of Albon; he signed the Journal, 132, 203

Perez, Diego, a Portuguese sailor on board the *N. S. de Esperanza*. In the list left at the river of San Juan, and in the last list, where he has the surname of Villamera. He could not sign, 132, 203, 204

Perez, Francisco (*see* **Rocha**)

Perez, Manuel, a sailor on board the *N. S. de Esperanza*. In the list left at the river of San Juan; and in the last list, but he could not sign, 132, 203

Pinzon, Alonso Martin, a captain under Columbus, x

Portugues, Geronimo, one of the two faithful friars, 297

Poyarne, M. de, Catholic governor of towns on the Adour, France, near where Sarmiento was imprisoned, 344

Queipo, Suero, captain of the *Santa Isabel*, 220, 224

Quintero, Juan, pilot of the *Santa Marta*, 221

Quiroga, Juan Suarez de, a relation of Sarmiento, 308, 314; finds a harbour with difficulty, 325, 326 *n.*; made a chief magistrate of Don Felipe, 330

Quiros, Martin de, captain of the *Gallega*, 220

Rada, Pedro de, royal notary. He joined the faction of Diego Flores de la Valdes against Sarmiento, 266, 267

Rada, Rodrigo de, Captain of the *S. M. de Begoña*, 220 *n.*, 221, 251; attempts to persuade Sarmiento to return home, 255; his ship engaged with the English in S. Vicente, 269

Raleigh, Sir Walter, his expedition to Virginia, 340 *n.*; his reception of Sarmiento in England, 341, 343

Ramos, an interpreter travelling with Sarmiento when he was taken prisoner, 345

Recalde, Licentiate, Auditor of the Royal Audience of Lima, superintended the equipment of the expedition of Sarmiento, especially as regards wages and provisions, 6, 7, 18, 20

Requeña, Hernando de, witness of the taking possession near City of Jesus, 302 *n.*

Reyna, Gonzalo de, a witness of the act of taking possession, 302 *n.*

Ribadeneira, Fray Juan de, informs Sarmiento that he has seen English ships near the river Plate, 261

Ribera, Diego de, sent from Rio by Diego Flores de Valdes, to land the settlers under Sarmiento in the Strait. He put them on shore, left only one small vessel, and deserted them, 211, 219, 245, 259, 261, 263, 267, 271, 290, 301, 302, 311, 333, 349, 356, 357

Ricalde, Jacome, a sailor on board the *N. S. de Esperanza*. In the list which was left at the river of San Juan, 133; he is in the last list, and signed the Journal as Jacome Ricaldo (spelt by mistake

Ricardo in the last list, for *Ricalde*), 203, 204

Rocha, Francisco Perez, a sailor on board the *N. S. de Esperanza*. In the list which was left at the river of San Juan, 132; in the last list the surname Roche is omitted, and he signed the Journal as Francisco Perez, 203, 204

Rodriguez, Antonio, Franciscan friar who went out to Sarmiento's settlement, 222; he remained faithful when others mutinied, 297, 298, 362

Rodriguez, Antonio, not the friar, a native of Villacastin, who mutinied, was caught by Sarmiento, and executed at Don Felipe, 330, 331

Rodriguez, Antonio, the pilot of the *Corza*, 221

Rodriguez, Baltasar, gunner of the *N. S. de Esperanza*. In the list which was left at the river of San Juan, 132; he is not in the last list, and probably went as mate in the *Concepçion* under the pilot Alonso, 189 *n.*

Rodriguez, Juan, of La Mancha, a mutinous soldier, executed by Sarmiento at the settlement of Don Felipe, 360

Rodriguez, Sebastian, a pilot and arithmetician, who assisted Sarmiento to observe an eclipse near Lima in 1578, 215

Roldan, ——, gunner on Magellan's ship, after whom Roldan's Bay was named, 120 *n.*

Romo, Alvaro, of Badajos, a captain in the army, who found settlers to go out, 214, 223

Ronquillo, Juan, nephew of the governor of the Philippine Islands, xxviii

Rosa, Pedro de la, a soldier on board the *N. S. de Esperanza*. In the list which was left at the river of San Juan, 132; he is in the last list, but he could not sign, 203

Saa, Salvador Correa de, governor of Rio, 312, 332, 337, 339

Saavedra, Juan de, a captain named by the king for the expedition, 214

Sagasti, Juan de, master of the *Maria de Buen Pasage*, he deserted at S. Lucar, 220

Sagasti, Juan de, purser of the *N. S. de Esperanza*, 22, 132; he was disrated at Puerto Rosario for insubordination and neglect of duty, and his pay stopped, 91; he was put on shore and left at Santiago (Cape Verde) for the same offences, 91 *n.*, 188. At the bay of "Gente Grande" *our purser was wounded in the eye*, but I think this must have been the artilleryman Baltolo

Saldanha, a captain in command of the Portuguese ships from India, which were at Terceira when Sarmiento was there, 200

Sampier, Gaspar de, assistant engineer of the forts at Sarmiento's settlement, 223

Sanchez, Alonso, an insubordinate clergyman, who was caught talking mutiny to a sentry at the settlement of Don Felipe. Tomé Hernandez reported him to Sarmiento, who made him a prisoner on board the ship, 330, 331 *n.*, 360

Sanchez, Pedro, pilot of the *Santa Isabel*, 220

Santa Maria, Toribio de, master of the *Santa Isabel*, 220

Santiago, Friar Amador de (*see* **Amador, Friar**)

Santillan, Dr., Judge of the Council of the Indies, 212; and President of the Casa de Contratacion at Seville, 231

Sarasti, Miguel de, master of the *Maria*, 220

Sarmiento, Bartolomé, father of Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa, a native of Pontevedra, Galicia, x

Sarmiento de Gambóa, Pedro, birth, x; becomes a soldier and goes to Mexico and Peru, x; studies the history of the Incas, x, xii; connection with the Viceroy of Peru, xi; persecuted by the Inquisition, xi, xxii; proposes an enterprise to the South Seas, xii; appointed to the *Capitana* and sails 19th Nov. 1567, xiv; discovers S. Isabel, xv; disagreements with Mendaña, xiv, xvi; his skill and science, xvii; aids in the murder of the last Inca, xviii; compiles a history of the Incas, xix; his character, xxiii; his Journal, xxiv; voyage to the Philippine Islands, xxviii, xxix; time of his death uncertain, xxix; other literary work by, xxix; a most accomplished sailor, ix, xxvi; accepted the command of the Strait Expedition, 5, 6, 8, 22; received in audience by the Viceroy, 6, 7; his Instructions to the second in command, 19; sails from Callao, 24: oath, 18; completed the fitting of the ship at S. Lorenzo, 24 *n.*; caulking and refitting at Pisco, 25; purchase of wine, 25; reprimands Villalobos for not keeping station, 26; constant in taking sights at noon, 26, 27; discovered the Gulf of Trinidad, 37, 38; anchored ships in the port of Rosario, 40; first boat voyage, 46; formal possession taken, 41, 47; ascended a high hill at S.W. Bay, 44; took possession and climbed a high hill at Port Bermejo, 50; his account of the country, trees, birds, etc., 52, 53; piloted the ships to Port Bermejo, 58; second boat voyage, 61; climbed a height named Cruz, 65; frequent warnings of the danger of beds of seaweed, 67, 104; third boat voyage, 73; description of the snowy range, 77, 79, 80; act of possession at Año nuevo, 79; reached the "Ensenada sin salida", 80 *n.*; climbed up the "Mount of Prayer", 81; account of the hard work and sufferings of his men, 82; climbed the high hill of San Jusepe, 85; notes written, and chart drawn in presence of the Pilots, 86; disrates the purser, 91; reduces the rations, 92; calls for opinions of the Pilots, 94; adjustment of compasses, 93; formal possession taken of Port Bermejo, 50; sailed for the Strait, 98; Bay of Mercy, 102; climbed a mountain near the Bay of Mercy, 104; despondency of his people, 105; his firm resolution, 106; his reception of the expostulation of the Pilots, 106; formal possession taken of Candelaria, 109; obtained several names from natives, 114, 116; climbed a high hill at Puerto Angosto, 115; landed on the island of the Cross, 118; reference to names in earlier narratives, 120; exploring at the river of San Juan, 125; mentions the Volcan Nevado, 126; formal possession at the river of San Juan, 127, 129; changed the name of the Strait to "Madre de Dios", 127; description of the country, 134; encounter with natives, 136; left the Strait, 153; sailing directions, 154; at Ascension, 166; observation for longitude, 168; Santiago (Cape Verde), 177; chase of French pirates, 177; despatch of *Concepçion* to Nombre de Dios, 183, 189; proceedings at Terceira (Azores), 191: purser landed at Santiago, 188; execution of the Alferez, 188; attestation of the Journal, 203; which is now trans-

lated for the first time, xxiv ; appointed Governor and General, 209, 229; left Lima 11th Oct. 1579, 210, 227 ; explored the Strait and returned to Spain 19th Aug. 1580, 210 ; audience of the King at Badajos, 210, 227 ; appointed Governor of Strait, 210 ; offers to take out settlers at his own expense, 210 ; prepares plans of forts, 212 ; consults the pilots of Brazil, 213 ; audience of the King at Thomar, 213 ; completes his preparations, 214, 232; prepares charts, 214, 218, 232 ; observes eclipse, 1578, 215 ; sails in the *Capitana*, 219 ; appoints officials in place of those drowned in the storm, 223 ; encounters storm between Capes S. Vincent and Cantin, 233, 234 ; insubordination of his men, 235, 236 ; trouble with Diego Flores de la Valdes, 236, 248 ; robbery by a pilot, 238 ; purchases fresh tools, etc., in Cadiz, 238 ; spends a month at Cape Verde, 240 ; sickness among the men, 240 ; constructs wooden portable houses, 242 ; embezzlement of the stores, 245 ; ships unseaworthy and two sunk, 247 ; the ship *Arriola* lost with 350 souls, 251 ; reaches port of Rodrigo, 252 ; seeks to persuade de Valdes to continue, 253 ; reaches S. Catalina, 254 ; warned of treachery, 255 ; mutiny of the friars, 257, 296, 297 ; store-ship sunk on a rock, and much wine lost, 258 ; discovers a leak in the *S. Cristoval*, on which he was now aboard, 259 ; summons a Council, 259 ; arrives in the mouth of the Strait with five ships, 265 ; other officers desire to follow, 267 ; arrives at S. Vicente and finds the three ships left at S. Catalina, 268; encounter with the English at S. Vicente, who sink the *Begoña*, 269; report of the action sent to the King, 270 ; his men in distress for food and clothes, 271, 296 ; four ships with fresh stores arrive from Spain, 273, 279 ; he shapes course for Rio, 275, 277 ; he navigates the *Concepçion* through much danger, and arrives at Rio beginning of May, 278 ; fresh orders received from the King, 281 ; his letters to the King lost, 282 ; disputes with de Valdes, 284 ; deserted by de Valdes, 265, 292, 311 ; sailed from Rio, 2nd Dec. 1583 ; arrived at Santos, 298 ; at the entrance to the Strait, 1st Feb. 1584, 299 ; dangers from the current in entering the Strait, 301 ; landing at Cape Virgin he takes formal possession, 302; ships obliged to put to sea, 304; chooses site for City of Jesus, 305 ; begins to cultivate the land, 307 ; return of the ships, 13th Feb., 308 ; loss of the *Trinidad*, but her stores saved by Sarmiento, 309, 312 ; confers with natives, 315, 319; sets out on 4th March inland, 215 ; description of the country, 317, 319 ; fight with Indians, 321 ; hardships on the march, Sarmiento tells his men of former heroic explorers, 324 ; he arrives near S. Ana, 20th March, 327 ; founds the city of Don Felipe, builds church, houses, etc., 329 ; discovers a mutiny, and punishes offenders, 331 ; re-embarks on the *Maria*, which had sailed round to meet him, 332 ; encounters storm and puts back to S. Vicente, 332 ; proceeds to Pernambuco for tar, provisions, etc., 333 ; in September goes to Bahia, where his ship, some men, and all his stores were lost, 335 ; he fits out another ship, victuals her, and leaves 13th Jan. for Rio, but a storm nearly wrecks her, and his men become disaffected,

338; in despair he decides to return to Spain, 339; on the 11th Aug., off Terceira island, Azores, he is captured by the English, and taken prisoner to Plymouth, 340, 361; throws secret papers and charts into the sea, 349; he is presented to Sir Walter Raleigh, 341; and to Queen Elizabeth, 342; is given a passport, and leave to go to Spain, 343; proceeds by Calais and Dunkirk to Paris, 21st Nov., 344; taken prisoner near Bayonne, 344; released on payment of a heavy ransom, 347; entreats the King to succour the settlers in the Strait, xxviii, 349, 350, 351

Scarza, Pedro de, Master of the *S. Marta*, 221

Silva, Nuno de, sailed to the Strait under Drake, 1578, 109 *n.*

Solis, Gabriel de, a soldier on board the *N. S. de Esperanza.* In the list left at the river San Juan, 132; and also in the final list, 203; he signed the Journal as Augustin Gabriel de Solis, 204; the name is written Grabiel, a way of pronouncing it among the common people.

Solis, Gutierrez de, captain of the *Maria de Jesus*, 220

Sotomayor, Alonso de, Captain-General of Chile. Went out with troops in the fleet of Diego Flores de Valdes; he was landed a Buenos Ayres and proceeded to Chile overland, 211, 221, 255, 260, 296, 353, 355

Suarez, Pascual, serjeant-major of the *Almiranta San Francisca.* He was continually plotting with Villalobos to return to Chile; he climbed a hill with Sarmiento at Port Rosario, 23, 57, 94, 97, 105, 131

Suarez, Juan, nephew of Sarmiento. Left in command at San Felipe; he embarked with the boats built by the settlers, and returned when one was lost; he probably perished in the ensuing winter, 361, 362

Suerte, Juan de la, master of the *Francesca*, 220

Tamayo, Garcia de, notary who took the deposition of Tomé Hernandez at Lima, by order of the Viceroy, 353, 375

Tarsis, Don Pedro de, Sarmiento meets him at San Lucar, 233

Teatinos, an order of clergy formed at San Cayetano, 245 *n.*

Teligny, ——, a prisoner for whom Sarmiento was to be exchanged, 345; probably a relation of the son-in-law of Admiral Coligny.

Tellez, Francisco, a sailor on board the *N. S. de Esperanza.* In the last list, but not in the list left at the river of San Juan; he signed the Journal, 203, 204

Tello, Francisco de, Treasurer of the Contratacion of Seville, 235, 237, 238

Toder, ——, Captain of the *Maria de Buen Pasage*, 220

Toledo, Francisco de, Viceroy of Peru, 19, 183, 205; he ordered the equipment of an expedition to explore the Strait of Magellan, and gave the command to Sarmiento, soon after Sir Francis Drake appeared in the Pacific, 3; his plan was to form a settlement, and to fortify a narrow part of the Strait, to prevent further predatory incursions into the Pacific, xxvi, 209; his instructions to Sarmiento are full and precise, 7-17, 206-8; he personally attended to the equipment of the expedition, 5, 6; Sarmiento named the numerous islands up the Gulf of Trinidad after the Viceroy, "The Archipelago of Don

Francisco de Toledo," 56; he employs Sarmiento to write a history of the Incas, xix

Tomayo, Friar Alonso, Franciscan who went out with Sarmiento, 222

Tomas, Alvaro de, a soldier on board the *N. S. Esperanza.* In the list left at the river of San Juan, 132; as he is not in the final list, he probably went as one of the crew of the *Concepçion* with the Pilot Alonso, 189 *n.*

Torreblanca, Martin de, Franciscan friar who went out as a settler, 222; he deserted to the woods, 257; but returned, 296

Toribio de Santa Maria (*see* **Santa Maria, Toribio de**)

Trejo, ——, a boy in Mendaña's expedition who first sighted Santa Isabel, xv

Trexo, Francisco de, Royal Notary of the second ship (*Almiranta*) *San Francisco*, 9, 23

Tupac Amaru, the last Inca, xviii, captured by Sarmiento, and executed at Cuzco by Toledo, xviii, xix, 4 *n.*

Tupac Sayri, Inca, who died 1560, xi

Tupac Yupanqui, Inca, who built the fortress of Cuzco, xii, xiii, xxi *n.*

Unzueta, Villaviciosa, master of the *S. Estevan*, 219; afterwards captain of the *S. Spiritus*, 220, 248 *n.*

Urbea, Francisco de, a sailor on board the *N. S. de Esperanza.* In the list left at the river of San Juan, 132; he is also in the list made at the end of the voyage, and he signed his name as Francisco de Gorvea, 203, 204

Urdaneta, Andres de, captain of a ship in Loaysa's expedition, 1525, xxv *n.*, 289 *n.*

Vaca, Alvar Nunez Cabeza de, commanded an expedition to la Plata in 1540, 193

Valdes, Diego Flores de, an incompetent officer, xxvi; commanded the fleet sent to form a settlement in the Strait, under Sarmiento, 211, 228; his conduct all the time cowardly and disgraceful, xxvii, 213, 230, 231, 235, 236, 237, 258, 301; finally he sailed home with the best men and ships, 292, 293; after one attempt to reach the Strait he abandoned the service at Rio, sending Diego de Ribera in his place, 352, 353, 354, 355 356; account of him, 293 *n.*; he commanded a squadron in the Armada, 294 *n.*

Valdes, Pedro de, a cousin of Diego Flores de Valdes, who also commanded a ship in the Armada, 294 *n.*

Varaona, Balthasar de, master of the *Maria de Jesus*, 220

Vargas, ——, captain of the *S. Nicolas*, who died on the voyage out, 221

Vasquez, Bartolomé, pilot of the *S. Estevan*, 219, 248 *n.*

Vaz, Lopez, his history published by Hakluyt, ix, 104 *n.*, 253 *n.*

Vega, Antonio de, a Portuguese favourite of Don Antonio, 342

Vega, Garcilasso de la, his house at Cuzco mentioned, xx *n.*

Vega, Pedro de, a royal officer at Callao, who was engaged in superintending the despatch of the expedition of Sarmiento, 18

Vehedor, Alonso, a notary who sailed with Alcazava, xxv *n.*, 289 *n.*

Vendome, Captain de, Viconte de Bearne, takes Sarmiento prisoner near Vendôme, 344, 345, 346

Vidal, Antonio, boatswain of the *Maria*, 326 *n.*

Viedma, Andres de, a native of Jaen, and captain of artillery trained

in Flanders, 309, 310; a diligent and conscientious man, 313; he was left in command of the soldiers at the settlement of Don Felipe, by Sarmiento, 315, 332*n.*; as there was not sufficient food for all he sent the soldiers under Iñiquez back to Jesus, to look out for a ship. Next summer the settlers built two boats, and Viedma and Suarez embarked with fifty men, 362, but one was lost, and the attempt was abandoned. Another winter was passed and fifteen people survived. He led them towards Jesus, and their hopes were raised when the ships of Cavendish hove in sight, but Cavendish abandoned the wretched people to their fate, and Viedma must have perished with them, 361, 362, 363

Villalobos, Juan de, appointed as second in command of the expedition to the Strait, under Sarmiento, with the title of "Admiral", 6, 8, 18, 20, 22; from the first he showed a disposition not to keep station, and to part company if possible, 26, 34; at last it became necessary to use threats with him, 33; at Port Rosario, in a gale of wind, he behaved with pusillanimity, and went on shore in a hut, until it was over, 57, 58; Sarmiento leaves him to build the brigandine while he goes in the boat, 60; he continually plotted to abandon the work, and return to Chile, 89, 91, 97, 105; and when they sailed from Port Bermejo, he took the first opportunity of parting company and deserting, 99; Sarmiento denounced his conduct, and left Instructions for him if he should ever reach the Strait, 129, 131. He never did.

Villalustre, Pedro de, a sailor on board the *N. S. de Esperanza*. In the list that was left at the river of San Juan, 133; he is also in the list made at the end of the voyage, but he could not sign, 203

Villavicencio, Bartolomè de, the commander of the fleet of New Spain, which put into Terceira when Sarmiento was there. Sarmiento thought him very remiss for not stopping the despatch boats which were taking news to Don Antonio, the Pretender to the crown of Portugal at Lisbon, 201, 202

Vittoria, Francisco de, Dominican professor of theology at Salamanca, 241

Voyaneta, Domingo (*see* **Baxaneta**), 203

Ward, Luke, commander of the *Bonaventura*, sailed to Brazil in 1582, 252 *n.*

Zabalaga, Miguel de, master of the *S. Nicolas*, 221

Zamorano, Rodrigo, cosmographer and examiner of pilots, 214; observes an eclipse with Sarmiento at Lima, 216

Zarate, Juan Ortiz de, governor of Buenos Ayres, 1565-1581, 193

Zelain, Domingo, master of the *Trinidad*, 221

Zubieta, Martin de, a Biscayan, captain of the *Trinidad*, 221, 300

INDEX OF PLACES.

[NINETY-SIX names were given by Sarmiento in the Gulf of Trinidad,[1] and eighty-one in the Strait of Magellan. Of these names sixty-six are retained on the Admiralty Chart, and are marked with a * in the following index. The figures I, II, III, before the names, denote the first, second, and third boat voyages of Pedro Sarmiento in the Gulf of Trinidad.]

*Abra, great bay with an island at the entrance, three and three-quarter leagues from Port Angusto, 116

*Agua dulce, "Bay of Fresh Water", 50° 45′ (Sarmiento), a sheltered roadstead on S. side, 11th Feb., 122

Agueda, Santa, Point three leagues N.E. of San Fernando Bay, 123

*Alguilgua Bay, native name obtained by Sarmiento, 115

III. Altura, Caleta de, in 51° 15′ S. (Sarmiento), 76

III. Altura, Peñas de, sheltering rocks near the "Monte de Oracion", 82

Amaro, Santo, island off Santos, 270

Ambrosio, San, one of the Desventuradas Isles, 29

*Ana, Santa, Point, next beyond Cape San Isidor, 53° 30′ S., Capes Valentin and San Antonio de Padua in sight, 124, 125, 126, 127, 129, 134, 314, 324, 357; it was here that the city of Felipe was built, 291

Ana, Santa, Island, nearly opposite Santa Monica on the north shore, 114

Ancon Sin Salida (*see* Sin Salida)

I.*Andres, San, channel opposite Galeotilla Point on E. side of channel, 50° 20′ S., 56, 73, 74

*Anegada, low point on S. side, five and a-half leagues E. of Point Baja, 150, 151, 152

Angla, town in Terceira I., Azores, 191, 195, 197

*Angosto, Puerto (4th anchorage), left 8th Feb., 115, 116, 117

III.*Año Nuevo Hill, 52° 8′ S. (chart) 79, 80 *n.*; *see* Hill of the New Year.

III.*Antonio, Cape, 50° 54′ (chart), 74, 75

Antonio de Padua, Point, ten leagues N.N.E. from Point Santa Ana; with Cape San Silvestre forms a great bay called Santa Catalina, 127, 141

I, II.*Anunciada, Point, 50° 30′ S. (chart); only dotted lines in this part of the chart S. of the West Channel and of Port Bermejo, 51, 55, 61, 62, 71

III. Archipelago, seen from Punta Oeste (West Point). 76, 83, 84

Arenas, Punta, apparently the same as Cape Antonio de Padua, 141 *n.*

[1] The channels leading south from the Gulf of Trinidad were examined in August and September 1829 in H.M. schooner *Adelaide* by Lieutenant Skyrings, Assistant-Surveyor of the *Beagle*, and Lieutenant Graves of the *Adelaide*. The *Alert* was engaged in the survey of the Trinidad Channels in January 1879.

II. **Arrecifes** Bay, three leagues from Cape Anunciada, 61, 62, 71
II. **Arrecifes**, point of Island of San Francisco, 71
Ascension Island, Sarmiento at, 166; left it 11th April 1580, 169
Atoglee, native name of Santa Isabel de Estrella island (*see* **Isabel**)

*Baja, Punta, entrance of Narrow on S. side, 150
III. **Baltasar**, San, Point, 76
Barranca de S. Simon, hill and ravine, a league E.N.E. of Cape San Vicente, 139, 142
*Barranca, entrance of narrow on N. side, 150
Bartolomé Bay, between capes N. S. de Gracia and San Silvestre, 141
II. **Bartolomé**, San, Point, 77
Bayona, small port near Pontevedra in Spain, x
*Bell Bay, on the south side of the Strait, 120 *n.*
I. **Bermejo**, Puerto de la Concepçion de N. S. Selected for the ships S. of Hocico de Caiman, 50; ships arrived 7th Dec., 59; second boat voyage left 11th Dec., 61; returned 24th Dec., 71; third voyage left 29th Dec., 73; returned 12th Jan., 89; ships left 21st Jan., 1580, 98; formal possession taken, 50, 93; mentioned, 52, 55, 59, 71, 73, 88, 94, 98
II. **Bernabe**, Point, next Point Gracias a Dios, 77
Bernabé, Point, two leagues beyond Agua Dulce, 122, 123
III. **Benito**, San, Point, 77, 78
Bissagos Isles, at the mouth of the Rio Grande, West Africa, 173
Boqueron, N. point of a bay seen from San Juan river, E.N.E. eight leagues, 125
II.*Blas, San, Channel. Two leagues before reaching Santa Lucia Cape; Sarmiento took refuge in it, 65
III. **Blas**, San, Point, 87
I, III.*Brazo Ancho, Point, 50° 8 50″ (chart), 49, 56, 59, 74
Brigida, Santa, Point, N. coast, one league beyond Santa Agueda. It is a small island, 123, 124, 362
Brigida, Bay, 123; Sarmiento revisits, 326
III.*Buena Bahia, or **Buena Puerto**, one and a-half league from Cape San Antonio, 75
II. **Buenaventura**, Islet, near Arrecifes Bay, 62

I. **Cache Diablo**, sailor's nickname for Port Peligroso, 17th Nov., 1579, 41
Candelaria, N. S. de, Port. Arrived 2nd Feb. (second anchorage in the Strait), 107; communicated with natives, 111; left 5th Feb., 113; formal possession taken, 109
I.*Candelaria, Cape, five and a-half leagues from Port Rosario, E. by N.; between is Lamero Sound, 46, 47
Candelaria, rocks, sighted 1st Feb. 1568, xv
Cape Verde Islands, 177, 189, 224*; fleet stayed a month at, 240
Capitloilgua, native name of a bay, obtained by Sarmiento, 116
Casa de Contratacion, at Seville, xxiv; duties of, 231, 235, 238
*Catalina, Santa, Bay between capes San Antonio de Padua, and San Silvestre, 141
Catalina, island, off the coast of Brazil, 193 *n.*, 258, 295
III. **Catalina**, a long low point near Año Nuevo Hill, 78, 79
Caycayxixaisgua, native name of part of the coast, 116
Cayrayxayiisgua, native name of an island, 117
Chiepe, an island not far from Bahia, 192
Chilox, an island near the Strait discovered by Ladrilleros, xxv

Chonos Archipelago, off the coast of Chili, discovered by Ladrilleros, xxv

II. **Clara**, Santa, Point, extremity of Isle of San Francisco, 71

II. **Clara**, Santa, Channel unites with that of Concepçion, 71

Collao, a district in Southern Peru, 137

Concepçion, Brazo de la (*see* **Sudueste, Braza del**), 59, 88

Concepçion, Gulf of, in front of Port Bermejo, 59, 61, 70, 71, 73, 74, 88

Consolation, Point, ten leagues from Port Baja, three leagues from Point Anegada, with the channel between them, 52° 30′ S. (Sarmiento), 151

Corvo, island, one of the Azores, 190

Cristobal, San, one of the Solomon Islands; Mendaña and Sarmiento spend forty days at, xvi

Cross Island, the first of four islands in mid channel of the Strait, 118, 119

II. **Cruz,** Santa, high hill on shore of San Blas Channel, 65

Cuaviguilgua Bay, native name obtained by Sarmiento, 114

Cuentas, Rio de la, fight between Englishmen and Portuguese at, 191, 192

Cuzco, city, the last Inca executed at, xviii, xx *n.*, xxi

***Delgado,** on north side of narrow of N. S. de Esperanza, 150, 151

I. **Delgado** Point, opposite the island En Medio, 48, 49

III. **Delgado**, Point, half a league S.S.W. of Bahia Buena, 75

Deseada, Cape, now Port Desire, 289

Desventuradas Islands, 28, 29

Domingo San, Island, 182

II. **Donde se huyo el Indio Rock,** 51° 15′ S. (Sarmiento), sheltering rock near C. Santa Lucia, 66

II. **Dormida** Isles, where Sarmiento passed the night when he first met with natives, 12th Dec., 63, 64

I. **Dormida de Anton Pablos,** S.W. Bay, where Sarmiento passed the night, left it 26th Nov., 47

I. ***En medio,** island in the middle of the main channel, 50° 5′ 30″, 50° 20′ (Sarmiento), 48, 59

Ensenada sin Salida (*see* **Sin Salida Ensenada**)

Esperanza, N. S. de, Narrow, 150

Espiritu Santo, Cape, 52° 42′ S. The Cape Pillar of the Charts. 52° 43′ S. (chart), 102, 153

III. **Estevan,** San, Cape, 74

III. **Estevan,** San, Channel, 74° 20′ W., 50° 50′ to 51° 25′ S., 74, 76, 87

Estrella, Santa Isabel de, Island (*see* **Isabel, Santa**)

Estrella, Bay, where Mendaña and Sarmiento anchored, xv

Exeaquil, native name of a bay, obtained by Sarmiento, 116

Famine, Port, Cavendish's name for Felipe, xxviii, 124 *n.*, 125 *n.*, 341

Farallon Point, near Santa Clara Point, 71

***Felipe,** San, Bay, beyond Cape San Isidro, 149

Felipe, Don, or San, city founded by Sarmiento 25th March 1584, 241, 291, 328, 329, 332, 359 *n.*, 361, 365, 368; Cavendish at, 241, 341

Felix, San, an island discovered by Fernandez, 29

Fernando, San, Bay, on S. side near Cape San Bernabe, 122

Fountains, Valley of the Five, so named by Sarmiento, 304; near the Cape Virgin, chosen for site of City of Jesus, 305

II. **Francisco**, San, Cape, near Buenaventura Isle, 62
II. **Francisco** Isle, Dec. 23rd, 70, 71

*Gabriel, San, Channel, running S. from near Cape Santa Brigida, 123
I. **Galeotilla**, Point, four leagues beyond Brazo-Ancho, 49, 55
Gallego, River, explored, 332
III. **Gaspar** Point, 77
Gente, Isla de, beyond Cross Island, 119
*Gente Grande Bay, six leagues from San Pablo Isle, N.N.E., 129, 135, 137, 138
II. **Gente**, Punta de la, where Sarmiento first met with natives, 63
George, Saint (*see* **Jorge Island, San**)
Geronimo Bay, on the north shore, opposite to Santa Monica, 314
Good Success, Cape, Drake's name for the Cape Virgins, 289
III. **Gracias á Dios**, point near Point Gaspar, 77
Gracia, N. S. de la, Cape in narrow, place for a fortress, a league E. of Cape San Vicente; with San Silvestre Cape it forms large bay of San Bartolomè, 138, 139, 141, 142, 144, 145
Graciosa, Island, one of the Azores, Sarmiento taken prisoner near, 190, 348
Gregorio, San, Bay, 53° 3′ S. (Sarmiento), 144; Sarmiento arrives in, 145, 229, 301
*Gregorio, Point, a league from Cape San Vicente on N. coast, 52° 40′ S. (chart), 139, 142, 143, 145, 147, 319, 356 *n.*, 363 *n.*, 363, 368
Gregorio, River, 369, 373
Guadalcanal, one of the Solomon Islands, named by Ortega after his birthplace in Spain, xv
II. **Guadalupe**, N. S. de, Bay, with channel leading from it, 69, 70, 73
Hahua-champi, island in the Galapagos, xiii
Henares, Alcala de, Spain, birthplace of Pedro Sarmiento, x
III. **Hill of the New Year**, near Santa Catalina (*see* **Año Nuevo**), 79, 80, 81
I, III.*Hocico de Caiman next after Galeotilla Point, 50° 25′ S. (chart), 49, 50, 80, 89
Honda, Rio, 53° 40′ S. (Sarmiento), 121

Idolos, Ilhas des, islands off the coast of Guinea, 172
Ildefonso, Point, three leagues E.S.E. of Port Santa Monica, 114
*Ines, Santa, Island, on which is C. Espiritu Santo (Cape Pillar), 101, 102, 109
III.*Inocentes Isle, two leagues from Port Bermejo, 73, 88
III.*Isabel Cape, 51° 30′ S. (chart), 85
Isabel de Estrella, Santa, island named by Mendaña and Sarmiento, xv
*Isidro S., low, Point, beyond C. Santa Brigida. Meeting of tides, in 54° (Sarmiento), 53° 47′ (chart), 124, 142, 145, 147, 149. Also a *point on south coast near the entrance, thirty-four leagues S.E. from Cape San Gregorio

*Jesus, Nombre de, Cape; the bay between it and Point Anegade called Lomas, 152, 357 *n.*
Jesus, Nombre de, island, named by Mendaña, and Sarmiento, xv
Jesus, Nombre de, City, Sarmiento's first settlement in the Strait, 305, 307 *n.*; church built there, 306; founding and incorporation of the city, 307; the *Maria* anchors off, 315; Sarmiento's return to, 331, 332, 357 *n.*

Jorge, San, island, one of the Azores, 190, 191 ; Sarmiento near, on his return home, 1586, 339
Juan, San, of Possession, river, 53° 40′ S. (Sarmiento), in the Bay of Natives, 125, 129; Sarmiento left 14th Feb., 134 ; formal possession taken and testified to by the Royal Notary, 129; document left, with list of officers and crew of *N. S. de Esperanza*, and Instructions to Villalobos, if he should come, 129, 134, 140
III. **Juan**, San, Point, on east side, near San Andres Channel, 73
III. **Judas, Hand of**, a peak of the Snowy Cordillera, 77, 84
Julian, San, Point, beyond San Simon Bay, 120
Julian, San, Drake's wintering there, 288, 289, 327
III. **Jusepe** Hill, Santa Lucia Cape in sight, 85
III. **Jusepe** Bay, 86

Lances, river of the, in the Strait ; so called by Sarmiento because they bridged it with lances ; near it the forts were built, 290
III. **Larga**, Punta, 83
II. **Lobos**, Isle, near Buenaventura Isle, 62
III.*__Lobos__, Isles, from West Point, 51° 34′ to 51° 27′ (chart), chain of islets ten miles long, S.W.—N.E., 84
Lobos, island at the mouth of the Rio Plate, 268
*__Lomas__, Morro de, S. side opposite Point San Isidro. Land continuous with Cape St. Valentin, 124, 125
*__Lomas__, Bay, between capes Nombre de Jesus and Anegada, 125, 152
Lorenzo, San, island off Callao, 24
Lucar, San, Sarmiento embarks from, 232, 264 ; storm encountered near, 223
III. **Lucas**, Point, three leagues S. of San Marcos Point, 76
II.*__Lucia__, Santa, Cape, six leagues S.W. by S. of the "Roca Partida", 51° 30′ S., 75° 23′ W. (chart), 64, 65, 72, 84, 85, 90, 98, 102
III. **Luis**, San, Point, 87

*__Madalena__, Channel, runs S. from near Cape Santa Brigida, 123
*__Madalena__, small isle near Santa Marta, 141, 365 *n.*
Madre de Dios, Strait of; entered 31st Jan., left 24th Feb., 1580, 121, 128, 129, 133, 153, 154, 169, 204, 210
Manilla, Philippine Isles, Sarmiento perhaps living there in 1608, xxix
III.*__Marcos__, San, Point, S.S.E. one league from "Point Delgado", 51° 4′ (chart), 75, 76
Maria, Santa, island of, 365
Marsan, Mont de, department of Landes, France ; Sarmiento in the prison of, xxx, 344, 347 *n.*
*__Marta__, Santa, and Santa __Madalena__, small islets, near Cape San Silvestre, 141, 365 *n.*
II. **Martin de Pasage**, San, island near Silla, 70
III.*__Mas al Oeste__, in 51° 35′ S. (chart), 83
III. **Mateo**, San, Cape, near "Cape San Vicente", 76
III. **Melchior**, San, Bay (31st Dec.), 77
III. **Mercedes**, Cape, near San Blas, 87
*__Mercy__, Bay of, inside Cape Espiritu Santo (Cape Pillar), Sarmiento anchored 31st Jan. 1580, until 2nd February, 102, 103, 104, 106, 107; he named it, 289 ; Drake called it Bay of Safety, 289
Miguel, San, island in the Pacific near the Azores, 201
*__Monica__, Santa, Port (third anchorage), 6th Feb. left, 114
I. **Morro**, Port of, beyond Cape Candelaria, 47

I. **Morro Gordo**, a hill E.S.E. of the port, 47
Morro de Lomas (*see* **Lomas, Morro de**)
Morro Solar, a hill above Chorillos, 24
***Mucho-Nieve**, a bay beyond Playa Prada, on the opposite side, 116

Natives, Bay of, between San Isidro and Santa Ana, the river called San Juan de Posesion, 125
Nina-champi, an island in the Galapagos group, xii, xiii *n.*
Nombre de Jesus (*see* **Jesus, nombre de**)

III.***Ochavario**, Port, 50° 41′ (chart), 74
III***Oeste** Punta, West Point, 51° 32′ (chart), 83, 84
I.***Oeste**, Brazo del, "West Channel" of the chart, 51
III. **Oracion**, Monte de (*see* **Prayer, Mountain of**)
III. **Oracion** Bay, 3rd Jan. 1580, 82
Osuña, Juan de, a witness of the taking possession at Cape Virgin, where the city of Jesus was afterwards built, 304 *n.*

III.***Pablo**, San, Cape, to south of Cape San Vicente, 51° 33′ S. (chart), 76
Pablo, San, Island. Sarmiento steered for it on leaving island of San Juan, 128, 134, 135
II. **Pajaros**, Isle of, half a league N.W. of the Silla, 64
I.***Pan de Azucar**, in 50° 4′ 40″ S. A peaked mountain 880 feet high, 47
III. **Pan de Azucar**, near Cape San Bartolomé, 77
Paraiba, bay near Rio, 182, 194
Partida, Roca (*see* **Roca Partida**)
Pedro, San, Bay. Broad opening to south, half a league from "Agua Dulce", 122
Pelepelqua, native name of a port, obtained by Sarmiento, 116
Peligroso, Port. First anchorage within the Gulf of Trinidad, 41 (*see* **Cache Diablo**)
II. **Peña de Francia**, next point to Anunciada, 61
Philippine Islands, Sarmiento appears to have gone to, xxviii
Pisco, a port in Peru, the fleet reaches, on 17th Oct. 1579, 25
Playa, La, a large beach beyond Cross Island, 119
***Playa Prada**, on north side, 116
Pontevedra, Bartolomè Sarmiento's birthplace in Galicia, x
Possession, River of, 134 (*see* **Juan, San, River of**)
III. **Prayer**, Mountain of, 81, 84; bay of, 82
***Primero**, Cape, north side of entrance to the Gulf of Trinidad, 37, 38
***Puchachailgua**, native name of a bay, obtained by Sarmiento, 14
Purification of our Lady, name given to the first site touched in the Strait, 304 (*see* **Jesus, City of**)

Quipani-urco, hill near Lima, where Sarmiento observed eclipse, 215

Remedio, N. S. del, large bay on N. side of Point Delgada, near the narrow, 151
Rincones, Los, port near Santa Ana named by Sarmiento, 314
Rio de Janeiro, sickness at, 224; Sarmiento arrives in March 1582, 242, 278
II.***Roca Partida** in sight from the Silla, two and a-half leagues

S.W. by S.S.W. from Pajaros, 64, 67, 68. 98

Rodrigo, Port, Sarmiento reaches, 252, 253 *n.*

Roldan, Campana de, a great bay where there is a very high mountain, near San Simon Bay, 120

I.*__Rosario__, N. S. del, the first port, 41, 42, 43. 55; left on first boat voyage, Nov. 25th, 46; ships arrived Nov. 18th, 39; left 7th Dec., 58; formal possession taken, 41; and testified by the Royal Notary, 44; mentioned, 55, 56

Rota, ship lost off, 235

Sangallan Island, 26

II.*__Santiago__, Cape, next to Peña de Francia, 61, 62, 64, 99

*__Santiago__ Bay, on N. coast near the entrance, 149

Santiago de la Ribera, town on Santiago Island, Cape Verde, Sarmiento reaches, 177, 179, 184; description of, 187; ships went up the river to, 270; English ships go there after the fight at San Vicente, 270; Sarmiento leaves some of the settlers there, 276

Sarmiento, Mount, named by Admiral Fitz Roy, 126 *n.*

Sarmiento, Cordillera of, mountains near Santa Catalina, so named, 79 *n.*

Sebastian, San, Island off the coast between San Vicente, and Rio, 277, 278

II. **Silla**, La, high mountain, afterwards found to be an island, sighted from Dormida Isles and Cape Santiago, 64, 70

II. **Silla**, island, 70

Silvestre, San, Cape, end of a great bay called Santa Catalina, San Antonio de Padua forming the other end; between it and N. S. de Gracia another large bay of San Bartolomé, 141

*__Simon__, San, a large bay beyond Playa, 120

III.*__Sin Salida Ensenada__, Ancon sin Salida on the chart, 52° 14′ S., 73° 20′ W., 80 *n.*, 90 *n.*

Snowy Isles, mentioned in the old narratives, near San Simon Bay, 120

Solar, Morro, a hill above Chorrillos, not far from San Lorenzo, 24

Solomon Islands, visited and named by Mendaña and Sarmiento, xvi

I.*__S.W. Bay__, Ancon del Sudueste on the chart; Sarmiento landed and climbed a hill, 47

Success Cape (*see* **Good Success**)

Sudueste, Brazo del, or **Brazo de la Concepçion**, 59

III. **Surgidero**, El, an anchorage near Point San Antonio, 75

Susana, Santa, Bay, on N. coast, in the narrows, 142

Terceira, island, one of the Azores, 191, 195, 201, 202; Sarmiento near it on his return home, 339; Sarmiento captured near, 348

Thomar, Portuguese town; Sarmiento visits, 212, 213; the King at, 229, 230

Tidore, proposition to conquer, xxviii

*__Tinguichisgua__, native name of a point, obtained by Sarmiento, 118, 120

I. **Toledo**, Don Francisco de, Viceroy of Peru, Archipelago of, 56

I.*__Tres Cerros__, Abra de, channel opposite the Brazo Ancho, 56

*__Tres Puntos__, Cape of, S. entrance to the Gulf of Trinidad, 37, 38

III. **Trigo**, Monte de (*Two*), 87

III. **Trigo**, Monte de, 76

*__Trinidad__, Gulf of, north of the western entrance to Strait of Magellan; discovered by Sarmiento 17th Nov. 1579, 37, 38, 48

III. **Two Channels,** Isle of; on right runs to Cape San Estevan, left to San Antonio, 74, 87

*__Valentin,__ San, southern point of a bay seen from river San Juan, E.N.E. eight leagues. Land continuous with Bay of Lomas, six leagues E.N.E. from Cape Santa Ana, 125, 127, 134

Valle, N. S. del, Cape, near Cape San Gregorio on N. coast, 139, 145, 156

Valle Grande, on N. coast, opposite Cape San Bernabe, 122; a river in it, 124

Valle Hondo (*see* **Hondo Rio**).

Velas, town on the Island of San Jorge, Azores, 190

Verde, Cape, islands, 188, 189

III.*__Vicente,__ San, Cape, one and a-half leagues S. of Cape San Mateo, 51° 31′ S., 74° W. (chart), 76

*__Vicente,__ San, hill and ravine; one end of bay of Gente Grande, 138, 139, 140, 145

Vicente, San, 272, 277, 296, 332

III.*__Victoria,__ N. S. de, Cape, 51° 27′ S., 74° 52′ N. (chart), 2,100 feet high, 84, 85

Vilcabamba, residence of the Incas, xi, xviii

Virgen Maria, Point, low point on N. side E.N.E. from Point Consolation, 151, 152, 153, 154, 156

Virgenes, eleven thousand, bay between Cape San Gregorio and Cape N. S. del Valle, 145

Virgins, Cape, at the eastern end of the Strait, named by Magellan, Sarmiento anchors at, 302, 305

III.*__Virtudes,__ N. S. de los, Cape, 51° 31′ S., 85, 86

Vittoria Bay, named, 319

*__Voces,__ Playa de los, between S. Isidro and Santa Ana, 125

Volcan Nevada, seen from the rive of San Juan, 126

*__Xaultegua,__ native name of a bay, obtained by Sarmiento, 115, 117

Yuedy, Peru, residence of the Incas, xi

III. **Zorra,** Morro de la, hill near Cape San Luis, 87

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